NOVEMBER 16, 2015

TIME

Iran 2025

How its next decade will change the world

By Karl Vick

Twelve percent of the adult homeless population are veterans. The New England Center and Home for Veterans works to combat this epidemic by providing housing and support services.

They wanted to expand their facilities to aid more veterans. Citi's expertise in working with government and community organizations put the bank in a unique position to help arrange and provide the needed financing. Once the renovations are completed, the Center will better serve the needs of female veterans and help more people to find jobs and homes of their own.

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TIME
VOL. 186, NO. 20 | 2015

Cover Story

Leap of Faith

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Trump U

What the litigation over Trump University reveals about the man who would be President

By Steven Brill 42

Members of the Mission Continues in Brooklyn on May 4, 2013

Lives of Service

In his new book, *Charlie Mike: A True Story of Heroes Who Brought Their Mission Home,* Joe Klein reports on a nationwide effort to bring out the best in military vets—while helping them put the worst behind them. An excerpt

By Joe Klein 50

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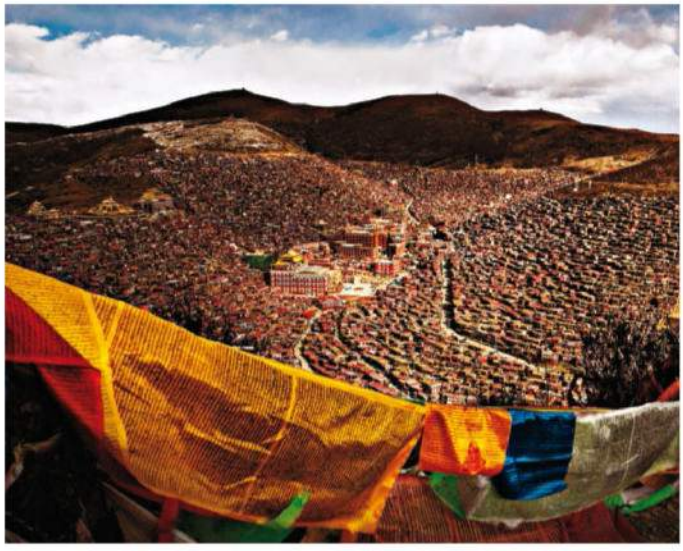
Inside Iran after the deal

EDITOR AT LARGE KARL VICK, WHO FOR FOUR years served as a bureau chief in the Middle East and had visited Iran 11 times, returned to the country in October to assess what has—and has not—changed during the tumultuous past decade. There are more posters for products (IFC: IRAN FRIED CHICKEN) and fewer ones for martyrs. Even the slogan of the 1979 Islamic revolution, "Death to America," is reserved mainly for Friday prayers. Men and women mingle more freely. "No one was necking in public," Vick observes, "but no one seemed to be fearing the morality police."

In pursuit of the nuclear deal and the lifting of sanctions, President Hassan Rouhani has projected an air of modernity and moderation—so Vick sought out as many hard-liners as he could. He explored their efforts to block the movement toward greater freedom, like the jailing not only of Iranian Americans like journalist Jason Rezaian but also of activists and businessmen charged with undermining the regime. Both reformists and hard-liners are watching U.S. behavior closely. "The consensus view," Vick says, "is that if Washington's actions can be interpreted as aggressive or deceptive, the hard-liners will be empowered." Observed a columnist who is a Basiji, a hard-liner who takes orders from the Revolutionary Guards: "Being politically aware, knowing your enemy, this is very important. America needs to know more about Iran."

The cover image and the photos inside are by Newsha Tavakolian, a self-taught Iranian photographer who began working professionally at 16. In 2002 she covered events leading up to the Iraq War for international publications, including TIME. Next month she will receive the prestigious Prince Claus Award, in recognition of her photographic work, including a photo essay on Kurdish female fighters commissioned by TIME for the April 20, 2015, issue.

Nancy Gibbs, EDITOR



LIGHTBOX In the ninth month of their calendar, thousands of Tibetan Buddhists gather in the remote Larung Valley in China's Sichuan province to celebrate Buddha's descent from the heavens. The recent weeklong celebration took place in high-altitude landscapes, which were captured by photographer Kevin Frayer. "Everywhere on the Tibetan plateau you can feel Buddhism in the air," he says. See more at lightbox.time.com.

NOW PLAYING The fifth episode of TIME's documentary series *A Year in Space* follows astronaut Scott Kelly and his colleagues from liftoff—in the cramped cockpit seen here—to arrival, eight hours later, at the International Space Station, their orbiting home for 12 full months. Watch at time.com/space.

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SETTING THE RECORD STRAIGHT ▸ In the Brief (Nov. 9), we misstated the year former Argentine President Néstor Kirchner died. It was 2010.

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‘I kinda forgot what it’s like to live down there.’

SCOTT KELLY, astronaut, who on Oct. 29 broke the record for the longest single spaceflight by an American astronaut; he is spending a year aboard the International Space Station, where he will remain until March 2016

Wendy’s
Stock rose as the fast-food retailer’s earnings beat expectations in the third quarter

Taco Bell
It fired a marketing manager who was caught on video assaulting an Uber driver

‘It’s perfectly orchestrated self absorbed judgement. I was consumed by it.’

TEEN INSTAGRAM STAR ESSENA O’NEILL, explaining her decision to quit social media despite her legions of followers, saying her unhealthy infatuation with it drove her to present a false image of herself

75%

Percentage of children who have received their own mobile device or tablet by age 4, according to a small survey of Philadelphia families

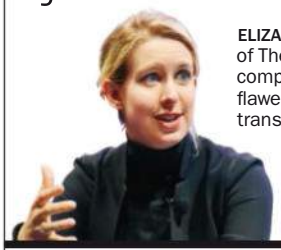
$5.9 billion

Sale price of King Digital Entertainment, creator of the popular smartphone game *Candy Crush,* to Activision Blizzard, a company known for console and PC games including *Call of Duty;* the price fell short of King’s $7 billion IPO value 18 months ago

‘IT’S NOT TOO LATE … WITH A LITTLE BIT OF HELP, THEY CAN GET ON THE RIGHT PATH.’

PRESIDENT OBAMA, who following a meeting with former inmates in Newark, N.J., announced measures to give ex-cons “a second chance,” including delaying criminal-history inquiries for federal jobs

‘We need to do a better job of communicating.’



ELIZABETH HOLMES, CEO and founder of Theranos, a blood-testing-technology company, responding to criticism over flawed testing methods and a lack of transparency

513,600

Pennies a 73-year-old Louisiana man collected over more than 45 years. He finally cashed in his collection on Oct. 27

‘UNLESS THE WORLD ACTS DECISIVELY IN THE COMING WEEKS … THE PACIFIC, AS WE KNOW IT, IS DOOMED.’

FRANK BAINIMARAMA, Prime Minister of Fiji, speaking at a climate-change summit for Pacific Island nations and warning of the high stakes of the upcoming Paris climate talks

KELLY: SCOTT KELLY—NASA; TACO BELL: REUTERS; O’NEILL: INSTAGRAM; HOLMES: AP; GETTY IMAGES (2); ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

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While it's easy to imagine retirement as a time of relaxation, enjoyment and fun, the fact of the matter is that a successful retirement doesn't just happen. It takes thought, planning and action. To help *Time's* readers get ready for retirement or make your retirement even better, we've assembled 99 retirement tips. Importantly, Ken Fisher has gleaned these tips from Fisher Investments' clients, people who have or are successfully navigating the transition from work to retirement.

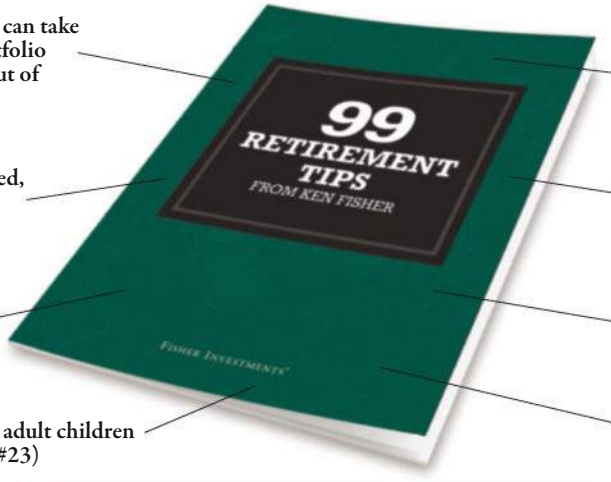
Here's Just a Few of the Things You'll Learn

Determine how much you can take from your investment portfolio without risking running out of money. (Tip #10)

Why, if you are close to retirement or already retired, you'll probably live longer than you think. (Tip #12)

How not to get caught in the inflation trap and the fallacy of most asset-allocation advice. (Tip #13)

What you should tell your adult children about your finances. (Tip #23)



Why selecting a benchmark, something few people do, can help you maintain and grow your portfolio over time in bull and bear markets. (Tip #19)

Why paying down your mortgage before you retire might not be a good idea. (Tip #26)

Estimate what your taxes are going to be and look for ways to reduce them in retirement. (Tip #40)

Why retirement can be a strain for marriages. (Tip #87)

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The Brief

'A LEADER WHO LOOKS LIKE A PARANOID BULLY IN GOOD TIMES CAN LOOK LIKE A SAVIOR WHEN THINGS GO BAD.' —PAGE 14

Marco Rubio attends a forum at Northwestern College in Orange City, Iowa, on Oct. 30

2016 CAMPAIGN

How Rubio is rising like a 'GOP Obama'

By Michael Scherer/ Sioux City, Iowa

THERE IS OFTEN A POINT IN FLORIDA Senator Marco Rubio's stump speech when he offers a fortune-cookie proverb so uplifting and patriotic, it takes the oxygen from the room. "What makes America special is that there are people who are not rich who are happy," he will say. "What has made us different here is that anyone from anywhere can achieve anything."

Nothing is particularly new or partisan about the lines, but that is not the point. His goal is to captivate conservative crowds, as if he were an actor in a movie's climactic scene. And the crowds tend to respond, refraining from their next sip of wine or beer to stare at the young Cuban American as he promises to calm their fears and lead them forward. "While America owes me absolutely nothing," the candidate will continue, "I have a debt to America that I will never repay."

For former Florida governor Jeb Bush, the onetime Republican front runner and Rubio mentor, these moments are exasperating, if only because Bush cannot match them. "I'm not a performer," Bush said after the third Republican debate, in which Rubio effortlessly embarrassed him. As a result, Rubio, 44, has climbed to third in Republican polls, behind two political amateurs, Ben Carson and Donald Trump. For the moment, in the tumultuous GOP psyche, raw political talent beats governing experience in a walk.

The heart of the Rubio campaign strategy is basically the opposite of Bush's "joyful tortoise" plod. "Marco Rubio has the potential to capture

lightning in a bottle," Mitt Romney adviser Spencer Zwick explained back in February, pointing to the same emotional connection that made national leaders out of Barack Obama, Bill Clinton and Ronald Reagan. Indeed, it is the only election strategy Rubio has ever had. He won long-shot races to the West Miami city commission, the Florida statehouse, the Florida house speakership and the U.S. Senate by simply outperforming the other guy each time.

In that way, he is clearly following the path that pulled Obama from the Illinois state legislature to the White House in four short years. Like Obama, Rubio has the ability to conceal his sharp ideological bent with a broad message anchored in essential themes. Whereas Obama spoke of how his father "grew up herding goats," Rubio always mentions, "My father was a bartender." For Rubio's foes, this strength is a potential weakness. A leaked Bush-campaign strategy memo called Rubio the "GOP Obama" with "no accomplishments" who has "never been in charge of anything larger than two dozen people."

Rubio's response is to return to his conservative bona fides, which are widely admired across the party. "I don't think he has failed because of a lack of experience," he will say of Obama. "He has failed because his ideas don't work. Our ideas do work."

At this point in the campaign cycle, the opinions that matter most are the wealthy ones, and Rubio's message has been winning them over. Hedge-fund financier Paul Singer, perhaps the biggest whale loose in the Republican sea, endorsed Rubio before Halloween, calling him "one of the best communicators the modern Republican Party has seen." Rubio has also been courting casino magnate Sheldon Adelson, who has been telling friends he may pick a horse after the Nov. 10 debate.

There's an old saw about presidential campaigns that Bill Clinton popularized: Democrats fall in love, and Republicans fall in line. As Bush retools his stump speech with fiery lines like "We're Americans, damn it," Rubio has wagered that the opposite will be true this cycle. Democrats will go with Hillary Clinton, an Establishment pillar who struggles with heartstrings, and Republicans will pass on the pecking order to find the person who can take out Clinton with odes to the next generation.

After an Oct. 30 rally in Sioux City, Iowa, the strategy seemed right on track. "You just listen to him and say, 'Oh, he is just superb,'" gushed Brittany McNally, a 21-year-old student from Lincoln, Neb., who drove across the state line to hear Rubio. And what did she think about Bush? "I think Jeb's a nerd," she said. —*With additional reporting by* ZEKE J. MILLER/RAYMOND, N.H.

TRENDING

DIPLOMACY
Taiwan President Ma Ying-jeou *(left)* was due to meet Chinese President Xi Jinping in Singapore on Nov. 7. **It would be the first meeting between the leaders of Taiwan and China since the Chinese civil war ended in 1949.** The two were not expected to formally repair ties.

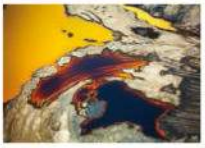
CIVIL RIGHTS
The U.S. Department of Education said an Illinois school district discriminated against a transgender teen who identifies as female by **requiring her to change in a private area of a girls' locker room.** The school has 30 days to find a solution or it could lose federal funding.

DRINKS
Guinness will soon be suitable for vegans for the first time, after its makers announced that it would **stop using a fish-organ by-product** in the brewing process. The 256-year-old Irish beer is currently made with isinglass, a substance found in fish swim bladders, to filter impurities.

EXPLAINER

Why the winds are changing on Keystone

TransCanada, the company seeking to build the controversial Keystone XL pipeline linking Canada's tar sands and the Gulf of Mexico, asked the U.S. government Nov. 2 to suspend its permit application. Here's why the project is looking like a lost cause. —*Justin Worland*



ECONOMICS
TransCanada's move comes as the economic argument for building the $8 billion pipeline is weaker than ever. Low oil prices make costly tar-sands drilling less attractive, while clean-energy sources like solar power are increasingly affordable.

POLITICS
The request for a suspension was widely seen as a political move to delay a decision until after Barack Obama leaves office. But Democratic presidential candidates are all opposed to the pipeline, and Canada's new Prime Minister Justin Trudeau has supported it with less enthusiasm than his predecessor.

ENVIRONMENT
Obama has made climate change a second-term priority, and experts say he may seek to appease environmental groups by rejecting Keystone before key climate talks in Paris next month. The White House said Nov. 3 that Obama would make a decision before leaving office but continued to give no firm date.

DIGITS

$43 million

Sum the U.S. Department of Defense spent building a single gas station in northern Afghanistan; the Pentagon said it did not have the "personnel expertise" to explain the exorbitant cost because the task force behind the project closed in March

DIPLOMACY: CIVIL RIGHTS: DRINKS: TRUDEAU: OBAMA: GETTY IMAGES; TAR SANDS: SUU KYI: REUTERS; GAS STATION: USAID

OUT OF THE SKY Officials congregate near the wreckage of a Russian plane in Egypt's Sinai Peninsula on Nov. 1, a day after it crashed, killing all 224 passengers. Russia and Egypt each rejected claims that militants linked to ISIS had brought down the jet, which appears to have broken up in midair. But officials in the U.S. and U.K. voiced suspicions that an explosive was planted on the plane. *Photograph by Maxim Grigoryev—Russia's Emergency Ministry/AFP/Getty Images*

BIG QUESTION

What's at stake in Burma's elections?

BURMA, ONCE A PARIAH STATE BRUTALIZED BY a military junta, will hold landmark elections on Nov. 8. The National League for Democracy, the party of Nobel Peace Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi, is expected to do well, a quarter-century after the generals ignored its victory in the 1990 polls. Burma's reforms prompted the West to lift most economic sanctions on Myanmar, as Burma is officially known. Still, major obstacles remain on the path toward democracy:

MILITARY POWER While the junta, which helmed one of the world's most repressive regimes for about five decades, promised to transform the country into a "discipline-flourishing democracy," the generals retain plenty of power. One-fourth of parliament is reserved for the military, and key leadership posts are to be filled only by top brass.

THE LADY DENIED Suu Kyi, who was kept under house arrest by the junta for 15 years, is so beloved that thousands flock simply to hear her speak. But the junta designed the constitution to stop the Lady, as she is known, from ever becoming President.

ETHNIC TENSIONS Roughly one-third of Burma's citizens belong to ethnic minorities, some of which feel persecuted by the country's Bamar majority. Despite a recent cease-fire, the army continues to clash with ethnic militias; the vote has been canceled in certain battle zones. Meanwhile, in Burma's far west, Muslim Rohingya have been forced into squalid camps, unable to vote. Suu Kyi has been criticized for failing to defend Rohingya rights as extremist Buddhist monks lead an anti-Muslim movement. A single election will not be enough to heal these rifts.

—HANNAH BEECH

‹ Aung San Suu Kyi, 70, is barred from becoming President even if her opposition party wins

DATA

STARTUP COUNTDOWNS

It's never easy to launch a business, and surprising factors, like where you live, can have a big impact. Here's how long it takes to register a company in various countries:

New Zealand
0.5 days

U.S.
5.6 days

Iran
15 days

India
29 days

China
31.4 days

Venezuela
144 days

SOURCE: WORLD BANK DOING BUSINESS 2016 REPORT

TRENDING

WEATHER

Yemen was hit by a rare cyclone on Nov. 3, with **substantial flooding reportedly killing three people and driving over 40,000 from their homes.** The U.N. warned that 1.1 million could be affected in a country already facing a humanitarian crisis from the ongoing civil war.

DEMOGRAPHICS

The death rate among U.S. whites ages 45 to 54 with only a high school education rose from 1999 to 2014, while **death rates for every other group fell.** A spike in suicides and substance abuse helped drive the increase, according to a new analysis of CDC data.

FOOD SAFETY

At least 37 Oregonians and Washingtonians contracted *E. coli,* **many after eating at Mexican-food chain Chipotle,** officials said Nov. 3. The company closed 43 locations in the region while officials investigated the outbreak, and one victim quickly filed suit against the firm.

THE RISK REPORT

Why Turkey went back to Erdogan

By Ian Bremmer

"IT'S ME OR CHAOS," WARNED PRESIDENT Recep Tayyip Erdogan before the Nov. 1 elections in Turkey. Enough voters agreed, providing his Justice and Development Party a surprise landslide. But we shouldn't be shocked. Civil war in Syria has pushed more than 2 million refugees into Turkey. In Ankara last month, a bomb killed some 100 people, the deadliest terrorist attack in the country's modern history. Experts say there are ISIS cells in Turkish cities. And the PKK, a Kurdish separatist group, ended a two-year cease-fire with a new campaign of violence inside the country. A leader who looks like a paranoid bully in good times can look like a savior when things go bad.

Erdogan has always been controversial. As Prime Minister, he introduced Islam into Turkish politics on a scale once considered taboo. And insulting him can now land you in jail. But he more than doubled his country's per capita income by expanding economic growth potential beyond the major cities and familiar families that had dominated modern Turkey. In the process, he won admirers across the country's Anatolian heartland. Erdogan has also extended Turkey's influence in Europe and the Middle East.

Turks are not the only ones who need a strong leader in Ankara. The U.S. understands the vital role Erdogan can play in fighting ISIS in Syria and Iraq—or at least allowing NATO forces to use Turkish air bases—and European leaders know that the oncoming tidal wave of Middle Eastern refugees will worsen if Erdogan refuses to help. That's why U.S. and European leaders will mute their criticisms of his authoritarian habits and anti-Western rhetoric.

> A leader who looks like a paranoid bully in good times can look like a savior when things go bad

Tough times and deep insecurities send people looking for leaders who speak with force, righteous anger and clarity. Greece elected Syriza to defy European demands for austerity. Voters in Hungary and Poland have elevated populists with anti-E.U. messages. The far right's Marine Le Pen has polled first in recent months in France.

Turkey's ruling institutions have limited Erdogan's ambitions in the past and will likely do so again. He may also fall victim to infighting within his own party. But if things get much worse in his country, fear of chaos might become a lasting political trend. That's a worry that extends well beyond Turkey. ◻

ROUNDUP

How America voted

There may not have been any federal offices at stake, but voters across the U.S. settled a range of hot-button issues in the Nov. 3 off-year elections. Here's a look at some of the notable ballot measures. —*Olivia B. Waxman*

MARIJUANA

Ohioans voted down a chance to become the first Midwestern state to legalize recreational pot. The controversial proposal would have given monopoly control of the state's marijuana market to a limited group of backers.

CIVIL RIGHTS

Houston residents rejected an ordinance shielding groups like LGBT people from discrimination, ending a standoff between supporters—including the city's lesbian mayor—and opponents, who adopted the rallying cry "No men in women's bathrooms."

AIRBNB

As San Francisco wrestles with the costs of gentrification, voters rejected a proposal to limit short-term home rentals to 75 nights a year. Airbnb spent over $8 million in a campaign to defeat the measure, considered a potential regulatory model for other cities.

EDUCATION

Mississippi voters rejected a citizen-backed proposal to guarantee full funding of historically strapped public schools by transferring spending oversight to the courts. Opponents of the measure wanted to keep power in the hands of school boards.

CYCLONE: EPA; CHIPOTLE: GETTY IMAGES

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- 10 SATA 3.0 (6Gbps) ports with Intel® C612 controller, RAID 0,1,5,10
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Milestones

The Royals celebrate their big win after the Nov. 1 game

WON

Kansas City Royals
The World Series

IT'S STILL HARD TO BELIEVE: the Kansas City Royals won the World Series. Baseball's changing economics, and the team's rampant mismanagement, had long left this small-market franchise behind. Before last season, when the Royals lost the World Series to the San Francisco Giants, they hadn't made the playoffs since their 1985 win. And yet they bounced the New York Mets in five games. Kansas City stuck with their plan to be patient while young talent like World Series MVP Salvador Perez matured. "We weren't going to be swayed by anyone's opinions," says manager Ned Yost. The Royals mounted three late-inning comebacks against the Mets by making contact and zipping along the base paths. "We're going to go, go, go," said first base coach Rusty Kuntz. "Until they crack." And the Mets did. The three-decade drought has ended. The Royals are world champs.

—SEAN GREGORY

DIED

Former Senator and actor **Fred Thompson,** 73. After rising to prominence as counsel in the Watergate investigation, Thompson turned actor, playing himself in the 1985 legal drama *Marie.* He won Al Gore's Tennessee seat in the U.S. Senate in 1994, serving eight years before returning to acting with a role on NBC's *Law & Order.* He also ran for the Republican presidential nomination in 2008.

› **Ahmad Chalabi,** 71, Iraqi politician whose flawed account of Saddam Hussein's weapons program helped persuade the U.S.-led coalition to invade Iraq and overthrow Saddam's regime.

ELECTED

Matt Bevin, as governor of Kentucky. The 48-year-old GOP political neophyte, a grassroots favorite, defeated his Democratic opponent by nearly 9 points thanks in part to his fierce opposition to President Obama's health care law. A Democrat has held the governorship for 40 of the past 44 years.

QUICK TALK

Peggy Noonan

The Wall Street Journal *columnist and former speechwriter to Ronald Reagan talks 2016, the presidential psyche and her new book,* The Time of Our Lives

This is quite a race. And we are still in the pregame. What is most interesting so far? The rise of the outsiders—Trump, Carson, Fiorina—and the decline of the insider, Jeb. Lee Atwater had a phrase for when the voters made clear they were no longer enamored of something: "The dawgs don' like the dawg food!" So far in 2015, Republicans are making clear they have lost respect for their party's political class and the other party's too.

After 9/11, you wrote that the U.S. was a lucky country and that some Americans had forgotten that. Fourteen years later, do you think Americans are more grateful? Yes, I think I'd say that: 9/11 was the trauma that changed everything. We lost the national luxury of assuming nice things will happen.

You were tough on George W. Bush when he vowed in his second Inaugural to rid the world of tyranny—and you called Obama's 2014 State of the Union delusional. What does re-election do to our leaders? All but the most stubbornly sturdy of them can be affected by the daily world they live in, which is too heightened, too full of over-the-top adoration and denunciation. You have to be a pretty tough customer not to let all that affect your thinking.

You admit that columnists have hot and cold streaks. Who do you read religiously? I never miss anything by Heather MacDonald or Megan McArdle. I read every columnist for the New York *Times* and the *Wall Street Journal* and syndicated and local columnists of left and right. I love columnists. I relate to their desperation and lone-cowboyness.

—MICHAEL DUFFY

ROYALS: PAT BENIC—UPI/LANDOV; NOONAN: GETTY IMAGES

THE TITLE AND THE SONG TELL THE STORY OF WHAT WE'RE WILLING TO GIVE UP TO PURSUE THE THINGS WE LOVE. IT'S MY STORY AND IT'S A STORY FOR ANYONE WHO HAS A PASSION STRONG ENOUGH TO PROPEL YOU BEYOND REASON TO PURSUE WHAT YOU LOVE. I HOPE YOU CAN HEAR MY JOURNEY AND MY PASSION FOR WHAT I DO IN EVERY SONG.

BIG MACHINE RECORDS

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AVAILABLE EVERYWHERE MUSIC IS SOLD

The battle for control of your living room is getting much fiercer

By Lisa Eadicicco

11
Average number of hours of streaming video Americans watch monthly

FOR YEARS, APPLE CALLED ITS STREAMING-TELEVISION PRODUCT A HOBBY. NOW, WITH the Oct. 26 launch of its fourth-generation Apple TV, the company is promising customers the future of TV.

What changed? Competition, for one, as companies from Google to Microsoft look to dominate TV. Now Apple is taking a page from the iPhone's success by offering its first streaming box to come with an app store and Siri, its digital personal assistant that responds to voice commands like "Show me movies with Kevin Bacon." Alongside streaming apps for services like Netflix and Hulu, users can download games, cookbooks, workout apps and more. Apple has sold more than 25 million Apple TVs over the past eight years; it sold some 700 million iPhones in the same time frame.

Rivals—Amazon and Roku among them—have app stores too. Sony and Microsoft's gaming consoles do much the same. How far software over programming goes toward winning buyers remains to be seen. "The future of TV is TV first," says James McQuivey, vice president and principal analyst at Forrester Research, "and then anything else you want to add, well, that only becomes interesting after that point." Here's a closer look at the competitors:

	APPLE TV	AMAZON FIRE TV	GOOGLE CHROMECAST	ROKU 4
THE GOOD	Attractive interface; great voice controls that **make it easy to find and play content;** robust app store	**Useful voice search;** supports 4K; large variety of games to choose from; expandable storage	Inexpensive; **compatible with most streaming apps;** easy to use	Doesn't favor one service over another in search results; supports 4K; **giant library of streaming content;** can send an alert to the remote when it's lost
THE BAD	**Doesn't support 4K ultra-high-definition;** no apps for viewing Amazon Instant Video content; expensive	Heavily weights **Amazon's own services** in search results	**Requires a laptop, phone or tablet** to stream to a TV; no native support for Amazon Instant Video	**Voice controls are lacking** compared with Apple's and Amazon's
THE PRICE	$150–$200	$100	$35	$130

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Death and company

Mexicans mark Día de los Muertos (Day of the Dead) on Nov. 1 at the San Gregorio cemetery in Mexico City, placing candles and marigolds on children's tombs to honor the deceased. Adults' graves would get the same treatment the following night.

Photograph by Esteban Felix—AP

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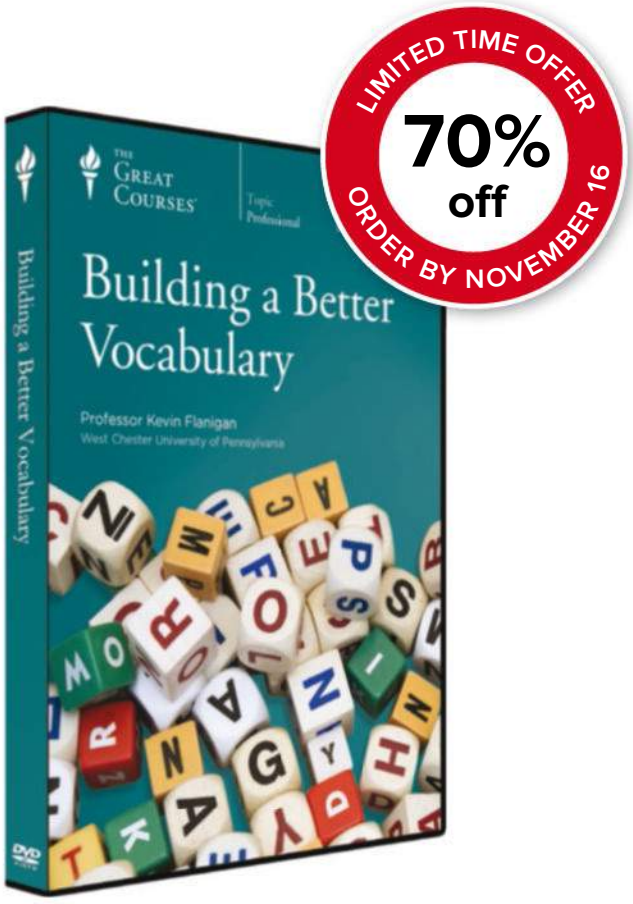

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The View

'THERE ARE MORE CONSPIRACY THEORISTS OUT THERE THAN YOU MIGHT EXPECT.' —PAGE 24

POPULATION

It may be too late to reverse the damage of China's one-child policy

By Bryan Walsh

The Chinese government estimates that the one-child policy led to 400 million fewer births; China now faces a major aging crisis

WHEN NEWS BROKE ON Oct. 29 that the Chinese government was finally ending its one-child policy, the stock market was quick to react. The value of infant-formula companies like Mead Johnson Nutrition spiked as investors dreamed of making a profit off a sudden Chinese baby boom.

They're likely to be disappointed. Although married Chinese couples will be free to have two children—the country technically has a two-child policy now—there's little evidence that they will want to. And that reluctance will have major implications for China—and the rest of the world.

In the 1970s, before the one-child policy was put forth, China seemed to be on its way to a Malthusian nightmare. The average Chinese woman was bearing more than five children, and the population was growing by nearly 3% a year. Less than a decade removed from a man-made famine that killed as many as 45 million people, Chinese officials worried that the country would collapse without drastic—and draconian—measures.

They weren't alone in those fears. The 1970s were haunted by the specter of overpopulation. Books like *The Population Bomb,* by biologist Paul Ehrlich—which sold some 2 million copies—warned that without population control, the world would run out of food, water and other resources. But though India briefly experimented with forced sterilization in the mid-1970s, it was China under the Communist Party that embarked on a lasting, coercive program to control the growth of population. Beginning in 1980, many Chinese women were permitted to bear only one child. Those who violated the policy could be heavily fined. And there were hundreds of millions of government-approved abortions, some forced on unwilling women. By the measure of human rights, the one-child policy was an atrocity.

Yet by the numbers, the policy seemed to work. In 1979, the Chinese

INSTITUTE

PHOTOGRAPH BY RIVERBOOM

government announced a population goal of 1.2 billion for the year 2000—and it just missed, with the population ultimately reaching 1.26 billion that year. China took advantage of a demographic dividend: a huge wave of working-age adults had fewer children to take care of, which helped speed the country's explosive economic growth in the 1990s and 2000s. It's far from certain that the one-child policy was responsible for those changes—China's fertility rate had been plunging years before it was put into place—but overpopulation is no longer a major worry.

Instead, China faces a fresh set of demographic challenges. Given the cultural preference for sons, many Chinese parents aborted female fetuses to ensure that their only child would be a boy. As a result, China has some 30 million "missing women," a growing gender imbalance that could threaten the country's security as millions of Chinese men—known as "bare branches"—are unable to find anyone to marry.

Most of all, China is aging—fast. Already, a generation of young Chinese are struggling with what's called the "4-2-1 phenomenon," in which a single working grandchild has to support two parents and four grandparents. By 2050, 1 in 3 Chinese will be older than 60, a 430 million–strong cohort larger than the entire U.S. population. Older countries grow slower economically, which is a big enough problem for rich nations like Japan, where the median age is 45. Yet China is on pace to become old before it can become rich—a far tougher challenge.

But ending the official one-child policy won't end the de facto one that Chinese parents have imposed on themselves. In 2013, the government announced that adults who were only children would be permitted to have two kids—but of the 11 million eligible citizens, only 1.5 million have applied to do so. A poll by China's family-planning commission in 2008 found that just 19% of the people surveyed wanted more than one child.

The reality is that modern China is no different from Japan or South Korea or Germany or Italy—all aging developed countries where the fertility rate is well below the 2.1 births per woman needed to keep a population stable. It's an almost universal phenomenon—as women grow richer, more educated and more urbanized, they choose to have fewer children. Global aging is now a bigger worry than global overpopulation, which is why countries that once pursued population control are now implementing policies meant to increase their birthrates. But it's harder to coerce women into having more children than it is to prevent them—as Chinese officials are about to find out. ◻

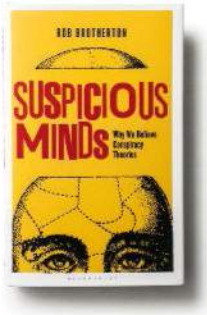
VERBATIM

'I am tired of being insulted by liberal feminists ... Let's see if they have the guts to say that to my face.'

CARLY FIORINA, GOP presidential candidate, after hosts on ABC's *The View* mocked her appearance during the Oct. 28 debate; Joy Behar, for example, likened her smile to "a Halloween mask"

NUTSHELL

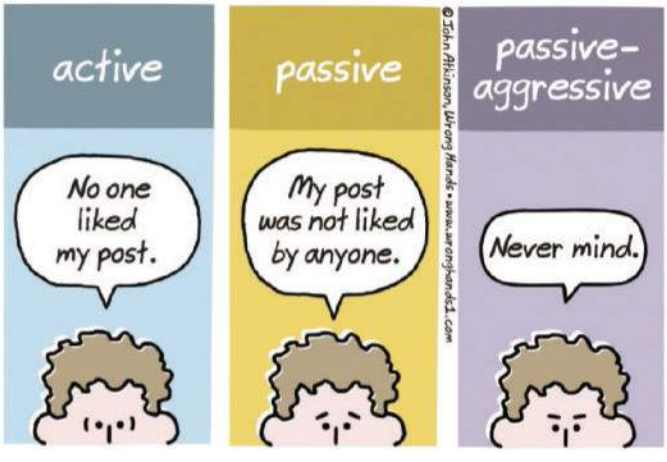
Suspicious Minds



SOCIETY TENDS TO treat conspiracy theorists as quacks or cranks. But in his new book, Rob Brotherton argues that all of us—no matter our age, gender or education level—are actually hardwired to find patterns in unrelated events. According to several polls and estimates, half of U.S. citizens think the government is concealing facts about 9/11, nearly 40% believe that climate change might not be real, and one-third even think the government is hiding evidence of alien life. These conclusions—typically drawn from a hodgepodge of unverified photos and news reports—have only been amplified by the Internet, which helps connect people with similar mind-sets. But their genesis is biological: when we're faced with events we cannot understand, it's natural for our brains to create a narrative—even if it means "casting the world in terms of 'us versus them'" to potentially dangerous ends, as Brotherton puts it. "There are more conspiracy theorists out there than you might expect," he writes. "Chances are you know some. Chances are you are one." —SARAH BEGLEY

CHARTOON

Grammatical voice



JOHN ATKINSON, WRONG HANDS

VERBATIM: AP; BIG IDEA: THE RIGHT CUP LTD.; ILLUSTRATION BY MARTIN GEE FOR TIME

BIG IDEA

Cups that trick your taste buds

When you sip a drink, the flavor you experience is based mostly on smell: as aromas waft into the nasal cavity, they cue your brain to conjure specific tastes (in tandem with your tongue). That's the concept behind the Right Cup, a product that claims it can make water seem to taste like juice or soda by infusing the cup's polymer lining with one of four scents: mixed berry, orange *(below left),* lemon-lime or apple *(below right).* To fund mass production, inventor Isaac Lavi is launching a crowdfunding campaign on Nov. 17; he expects the cups, which will retail for $35 each, to start shipping in the spring. *—Julie Shapiro*

QUICK TAKE

Why America needs more female cops

IN RECENT WEEKS TWO VIDEOS—EACH showing a cop approach a black teenage girl for a nonviolent offense—have gone viral. In one, shot at a South Carolina high school, the officer responds to a mildly disruptive student by flipping her desk and slamming her to the ground. In the other, shot on a Washington, D.C., sidewalk, the officer gets teens to disperse after a fight by engaging in a dance-off. The main difference between the cops: the first was a man, the second a woman.

These anecdotes are more revealing than you might think. Although there is no catchall solution to the U.S.'s policing problems, there is data to suggest that recruiting more female cops—who make up 12% of the national force—could reduce unnecessary violence. A 2002 study by the National Center for Women & Policing, for example, found that women accounted for only 5% of excessive-force complaints in seven major cities, despite making up almost 13% of police personnel. And in 2014, only 9% of complaints against the New York City police department were about a female officer, even though women make up 17% of its force.

Yet putting more women on patrol will require a cultural shift. Recruiting materials tend to emphasize car chases and shootouts, which appeal more to males than to females, and entrance tests prioritize physical strength over communication skills—even though the latter may be more important. "It's not that women aren't capable of using force," says Mary O'Connor, assistant chief of the Tampa police, who has been an officer for 22 years. "We're just more inclined to use it as a last resort." —CHARLOTTE ALTER

SPOTLIGHT

KIDS AND TECHNOLOGY

Common Sense Media recently surveyed more than 2,600 teens (ages 13–18) and tweens (ages 8–12) about their media habits. Here's what it found:

SCREEN ADDICTION IS REAL
On average, tweens spend 4½ hours a day using screens (TVs, tablets, phones, video games, computers) for nonschool purposes; teens spend more than 6½ hours.

CONSUMING TRUMPS CREATING
Teens and tweens spend less than 10 minutes a day making stuff (art, music, writing) with their digital tools.

TV ISN'T DEAD ...
Despite reports of cord cutting, TV remains the top media activity for tweens, meaning they enjoy it most and watch it every day. Also, 47% of tweens and 57% of teens have a TV in their bedroom.

... AND NEITHER IS READING
It was ranked as the second most popular activity by tweens and the third most popular by teens (equal to social media).
—Belinda Luscombe

How a Netflix-like approach is shaking up gym and fitness memberships

By Eliana Dockterman

ClassPass CEO Payal Kadakia poses at Gibney Dance Center in Manhattan

NATALIE KEYSSAR FOR TIME

FIFTEEN WOMEN CLAD IN LULULEMON yoga wear tighten their abs, flex their glutes and stare toward the corner of the brightly lit fitness studio at a medical skeleton that has no muscles to build or, for that matter, fat to shed. A peppy instructor named Patricia Whitcas encourages the class as she pumps up the Taylor Swift.

But most of the women are ignoring Whitcas and instead sneaking peeks at a petite woman in the middle of the room as she adjusts her plank position. Her name is Payal Kadakia, and she is a Massachusetts Institute of Technology graduate who trained at Bain & Co. before becoming an entrepreneur—and an accomplished dancer to boot. More to the point for the rest of the class, Kadakia is their boss. This 45-minute midday toning session is a rite of passage at her two-year-old company, ClassPass, which is rapidly disrupting the model for fitness clubs and classes.

The concept is simple: consumers don't need to lock in to one gym or studio. Instead, ClassPass's website and app allow customers to search for and book an unlimited number of workout classes—from spinning to ballet-style barre or aerial yoga, where participants hang from ribbons attached to the ceiling—at fitness studios near them for $89 to $125 a month. Launched in 2013, the New York City–based startup has since grown into a network of 7,000 studios in 36 cities across three continents. The private company won't disclose how many users it has or whether it is profitable, but a round of investments in January valued it at $200 million. "When you are trying to motivate yourself to try a new fitness class, fear kicks in, laziness kicks in, money worries kick in," says CEO Kadakia, 32. "We want to remove all that."

The model is not so different from the one that has made giants of restaurant-booking site OpenTable and streaming service Netflix. But ClassPass is also benefiting from a movement, especially among young women, away from traditional gyms and toward more-personalized boutique fitness studios. Whereas the merits of a gym used to be its machines or facilities, studio classes—smaller and more intimate by design—put an emphasis on, say, yoga instructors who can learn their returning yogis' strengths and weaknesses or fostering friendships among spinning regulars. High-end gyms like David Barton and small boutiques like the $375-per-month SLT Pilates fusion studio have been promoting this kind of exclusive atmosphere for years. ClassPass wants to bring the concept to the masses—with a much lower buy-in price and without the need to commit to only one type of workout.

> 'Fear kicks in, laziness kicks in, money worries kick in. We want to remove all that.'
>
> **PAYAL KADAKIA**, co-founder and CEO of ClassPass

KADAKIA OFTEN SPEAKS in the sort of aphorisms popular among new-age gurus, hashtag devotees and, naturally, fitness instructors. Sitting in her cramped, temporary Chelsea offices—they look more like a messy dorm room than a work space—she describes ClassPass users "unleashing their inner power" and "living an authentic life." Kadakia says her dance experience taught her that physical activity is crucial to achieving mental and emotional satisfaction. "My parents came over from India, and when I was 3 my mom's best friend taught me how to dance. I did these Indian-dance competitions every weekend," she says. "Throughout my life, dance was my outlet. Without dancing, the rest of it didn't work."

That's why she started an Indian-dance troupe at MIT as a sophomore and why she left her first job at Bain after three years in favor of a less time-consuming position at Warner Music Group. She founded a professional dance company, called Sa, on the side. And it was when she was searching for a new ballet class to take after work that she realized there was no easy way to locate studios online.

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Spreading by word of mouth, the ClassPass app took off first among women in New York City who couldn't afford studios' steep prices. Others used it to book classes a week in advance and force themselves to go (or be charged a cancellation fee for missing a class). "It's always on your phone, so you never have a reason not to work out," says Rita Sherman, a 27-year-old student at the University of Chicago's Booth School of Business. "There are days when I'm borderline sick but I don't want to pay for missing a class, so I tell myself to stop being a wimp and go."

SOME 90% OF CLASSPASS'S USERS are female, Kadakia estimates. That puts it in league with the fitness world's rising heavyweight, SoulCycle—the spinning studio founded in 2006 whose dimly lit, loudly deejayed classes sell out in minutes. No other venture has done more to cement the idea of boutique fitness as a lifestyle. SoulCycle's estimated 235,000 riders share pictures on Instagram of sweaty groups of friends posing in front of the company's yellow-wheel logo. They drop $54 on tank tops that declare FRONT ROW in bold letters to advertise their status as the most competitive in class. SoulCycle generated $112 million in revenue in 2014, up 49% from the year before, and is planning an IPO. (Spinning competitors like Flywheel are available on ClassPass. SoulCycle is not.)

Chasing SoulCycle's success, other boutique fitness studios have tried to cultivate similar communities, and customers have come running. About 42% of the 54 million Americans who belong to a fitness facility (gym, pool, studio, etc.) said they used fitness boutiques in 2014, according to a survey by the International Health, Racquet & Sportsclub Association. Just a year earlier, a similar survey found that only 22% of Americans who belong to a fitness facility had attended a boutique fitness class.

The traditional fitness formula has been scrambled in recent years. After the recession, explains IBISWorld fitness-business analyst Sarah Turk, customers became more budget-conscious and gyms began to drop their prices to about $20 per month for membership. High-end firms like Equinox continued to charge high fees for a vast array of amenities—from pools to juices to specialized classes. But the middle tier has been completely eroded, says Turk. "ClassPass is cheaper than the high-end studios but offers the perks," she adds.

Not that traditional gyms haven't noticed. To get in on the popularity of boutiques, Equinox bought into SoulCycle in 2011 (and will own a stake of the spun-off company); David Barton Gym now hosts boutique CYC cycling classes; and Town Sports International, operator of New York Sports Club and Boston Sports Club, among others, launched a brand of BFX studios offering classes such as spinning and barre. (A Town Sports gym membership, for example, costs $20 to $40 a month. Its BFX classes are $32 per session.) These gym-run classes have even begun popping up on ClassPass.

But some studio owners have soured on ClassPass. Jarod Cogswell owns a fitness facility in Beaverton, Ore., that was briefly listed on the site and app until he saw his profits drop. "They're using brick-and-mortar business owners for their own gain," he says. "My business model is built on monthly fees, and then ClassPass comes in and I'm getting $10 a class from ClassPass users instead of $150 a month from a member." ClassPass, which says it has given out over $100 million to studios so far this year, argues that it fills spots in classes that would otherwise be empty and helps turn customers on to new facilities.

There's also the problem of retaining users. Flash-sale site Groupon, once one of the hottest startups, lost return customers in its hurry to attain new ones and now serves as a cautionary tale to founders like Kadakia. ClassPass allows users to visit the same studio only three times a month, and some may jump ship to pay full price with a provider they particularly like.

Molly MacNeil, a 27-year-old consultant based in Austin, recently dropped ClassPass in favor of permanently joining a yoga studio she found on the app. She had started using ClassPass when she traveled for work because the app made it easy to locate a studio in most cities she visited. She quickly found, however, that the options in smaller cities were far less abundant. In large cities, the best classes were frequently unavailable. "Barry's Bootcamp in New York—you'd have to sign up a full week in advance on ClassPass," she says, referring to the high-intensity boutique workout chain. "I'm not quite sure. I never actually got in."

None of which seems to be slowing Kadakia down. Next year ClassPass will begin to focus on personal pursuits beyond exercise—from cooking to art and music classes. The company has already tested offering ice-skating sessions and tickets to the U.S. Open. It also hopes to target more male customers to continue growing. Says Kadakia: "We want to get you engaged back with the stuff you loved as a kid or discover something new and help you make the most of your free time." ◻

How ClassPass works

Book fitness classes from Bikram to barre on the fast-growing app

ACCESS TO CLASSES
The app locates studios on a map and lists class times and descriptions. Customers can book a slot with a click.

ENFORCED VARIETY
ClassPass limits customers to booking three times a month at any one studio to prevent overcrowding and encourage them to try new workouts.

MONTHLY PAYMENT
Customers pay $89 to $125 per month, depending on location, for a ClassPass membership.

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Save your breath

By Mandy Oaklander

RESEARCH IS MOUNTING that a natural, potent source of stress relief is right in front of your nose. New science is showing that slowing down and deepening your breathing can have profound effects on well-being. "Many researchers can't imagine how something so simple could actually have effects on physiology," says Dr. Andrew Weil, a physician and founder of the Arizona Center for Integrative Medicine at the University of Arizona. Breathing exercises—a staple of mindfulness and yoga practices—have been shown to help control blood pressure, improve heart rate, make arteries more flexible and activate the parasympathetic nervous system, which tamps down the body's fight-or-flight response to stress. Weil and other experts now believe deep breathing has a place in a clinical setting.

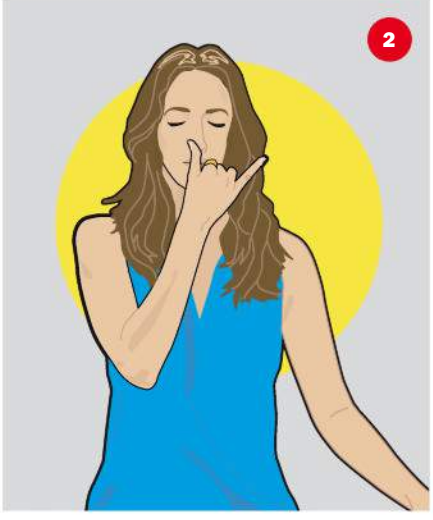
"It's enough to warrant applications in several areas of medicine," says Dr. Luciano Bernardi, an internal-medicine professor whose research shows that slow-breathing exercises improve exercise capacity in patients with chronic heart failure. "We've shown that this simple thing has a fantastic series of effects." □

VERBATIM

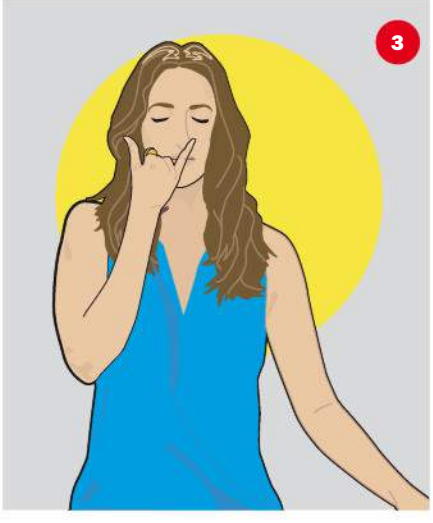
'I think breath is the only function through which you can influence the involuntary nervous system.'

—DR. ANDREW WEIL

Sit in a position that is comfortable enough to sustain for a few minutes of alternate-nostril breathing. (Sitting in a chair is just fine.) This is one of many breathing exercises shown to have some health benefits *(see right)*.



Make a "hang 10" sign with your right hand. Hold your right thumb over your right nostril to plug it closed. Inhale slowly through the left nostril until your lungs are full. Hold for four seconds.



Release the right nostril and plug the left with a pinkie. Slowly exhale. Once you've exhaled fully, inhale through the right nostril to repeat on the other side. Do about four rounds on each side—or more if you have time.

SOURCES: PSYCHOPHYSIOLOGY; MEDICAL SCIENCE MONITOR; INDIAN JOURNAL OF PHYSIOLOGY AND PHARMACOLOGY; JOURNAL OF ALTERNATIVE AND COMPLEMENTARY MEDICINE; CLINICAL AUTONOMIC RESEARCH; DR. PATRICIA GERBARG

THE BENEFITS OF BREATHING EXERCISES

Slow breathing activates areas in the brain connected with **antidepressive** activities, says Dr. Luciano Bernardi of the University of Pavia in Italy.

When people with insomnia practiced slow, even breathing for 20 minutes before going to sleep, they **woke up fewer times** during the night.

Studies have shown that people who practiced alternate-nostril breathing for 10 minutes **significantly reduced their blood pressure.**

Breathing slowly helps you **take in more oxygen.** In one study, brief breathing exercises done several times each day increased oxygen consumption by 37%.

In a 2015 randomized controlled trial, healthy women who did eight weeks of twice-weekly yoga with breathing exercises significantly **reduced anxiety** (but not the control group.)

In one small recent study, slow-breathing sessions for 30 minutes a day **reduced blood pressure** in people with hypertension—and the effect persisted a month later.

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VIEWPOINT

The fractious GOP tormenting Jeb Bush took shape during the presidency of his father

By Jon Meacham

IT WAS THE SPRING OF 1989, AND GEORGE H.W. BUSH HAD invited two Republican Congressmen to the White House residence for a beer. The guests: Newt Gingrich, who had just been elected the House minority whip, and Vin Weber, who'd managed Gingrich's campaign inside the Republican caucus. The conversation was pleasant, but the visitors felt there was something Bush was not quite saying.

"Mr. President, you've been very nice to us," Weber said. "Tell us what your biggest fear is about us."

"Well," Bush answered, "I'm worried that sometimes your idealism will get in the way of what I think is sound governance."

In the most polite way possible, in a single sentence, Bush had summarized the shifting reality in his party and his anxiety that when politics and principle clashed, politics was going to win. He'd used the term *idealism* but could as easily have used *ideology* or *purity*. Republicans like Gingrich were different from Republicans like Bush. The former believed that politics was total war; the latter, the art of the possible. And the roots of today's fractious Republican Party—a party that's bedeviling Jeb Bush—can in many ways be traced to the rise (and ultimate revolt) of the GOP's right wing during the presidency of his father.

GINGRICH'S RISE in 1989 signaled a significant shift: a divisive kind of politics that put ideological purity above centrist compromise. In private, Bush worried about Gingrich. "The question is, Will he be confrontational? Will he raise hell with the Establishment? And will he be difficult for me to work with?" Bush asked in his tape-recorded diary on March 22, 1989. "I don't think so," Bush answered himself, hopefully. "I called him and congratulated him. He's going to have to get along to some degree, and moderate his flamboyance … He's a very bright guy, an idea a minute, but he hasn't been elected President, and I have."

The Washington media, Bush noted, had been "hitting me for being kind and gentle instead of confrontational, and juxtaposing my views against Newt's, my style against Newt's. I was elected to govern and to make things happen, and my view is, you can't do it through confrontation."

Although he held the highest office in the land, Bush was almost touchingly anachronistic about the nature of power in the closing decade of the 20th century. The drive for a House majority through supply-side purity and populist appeals was more important to Gingrich and his colleagues than supporting their President—or even what was, arguably, wise public policy. "What is good for the President may well be good for the country, but it is not necessarily good for congressional Republicans," Weber told the Washington *Post* in July 1990. "We need wedge issues to beat incumbent Democrats."

'The longer I'm in this job, the more I think prudence is a value, and I hope experience matters.'

From the tape-recorded diaries of **PRESIDENT GEORGE H.W. BUSH** included in *Destiny and Power*

The key issue was taxes. In negotiating with the predominantly Democratic Congress to try to control the growing federal deficit, Bush signaled a willingness to break his most notable 1988 campaign promise. "Read my lips," he had told the GOP convention, "no new taxes." Once he suggested that taxes were now an option, Bush, in his diary, minced no words. "The s---," he dictated on May 10, 1990, had "hit the fan."

After the pledge was broken, the GOP right rebelled. "Our people were running and screaming, and I can understand why," Bush told his diary. "I guess this is the biggest test of my presidency, but time will tell."

THE LESSON of Gingrich's rise was that headlines, votes and the dollars of devoted donors were to be won on the extremes. And so it has remained. The GOP revolution of 1990 presaged the Tea Party rebellion and the anti-Establishment mood that drives the Republican primary campaign of 2016. It may cost Jeb his chance at the White House.

Down the decades, however, the 41st President has remained true to his childhood nickname, Have Half, which he earned by always splitting treats with friends. As I was finishing my biography of Bush, I asked him whether he had changed his mind on same-sex marriage, which he opposed in his active political career. A note from the former President soon arrived in the mail. "Personally, I still believe in traditional marriage. But people should be able to do what they want to do, without discrimination. People have a right to be happy. I guess you could say that I have mellowed."

Whether his party will do so is another question altogether.

Meacham's *Destiny and Power: The American Odyssey of George Herbert Walker Bush* will be published by Random House on Nov. 10

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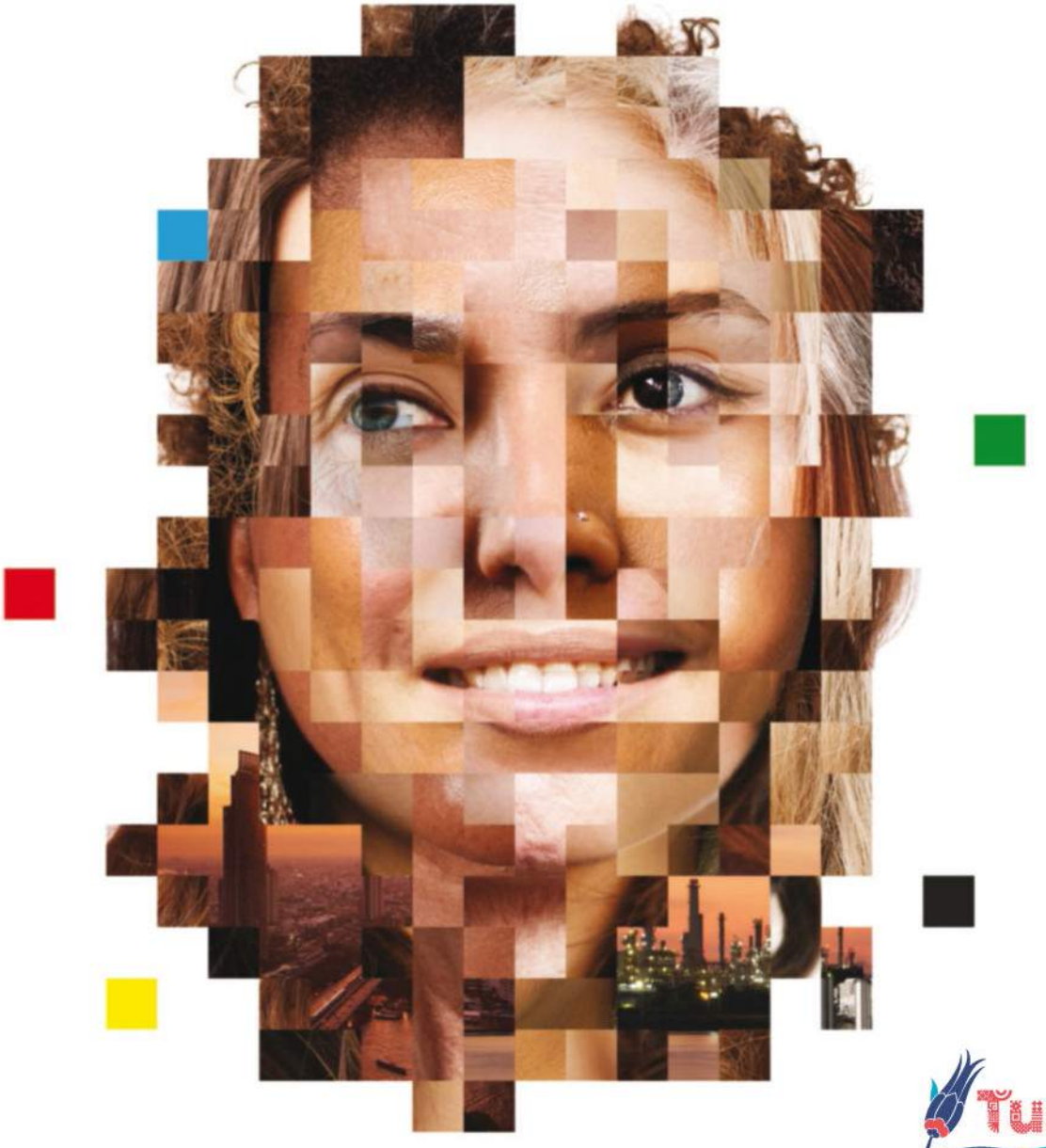

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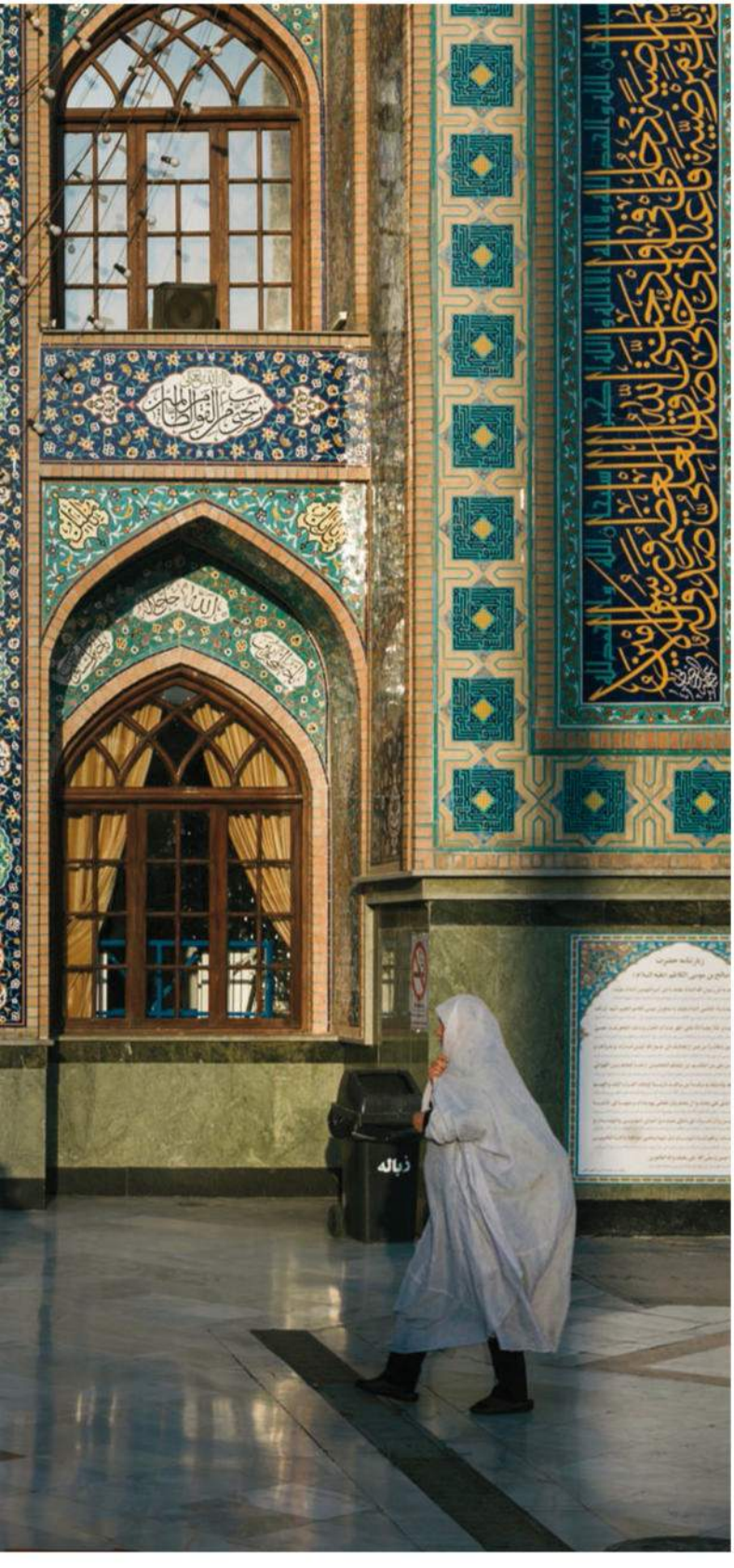
A woman in Tehran wreathed by the smoke of an herb burned during festivities marking the death of Hussein, the third Shi'ite imam

Is Iran finally ready for change?

By Karl Vick/Tehran

Photographs by
Newsha Tavakolian for TIME

A man and a woman talk in front of a holy shrine in northern Tehran



PHOTOGRAPHS BY NEWSHA TAVAKOLIAN—MAGNUM FOR TIME

The politics of Iran

may be relentlessly convoluted, but for years it was possible to judge at least the general direction of things by doing a little girl watching. Or, at least, trying to. Hijab—the Muslim headscarf that can be worn snug as a nun's wimple or loose as a suggestion—was of immense importance to Iranian hard-liners, who like Romantic poets and Miss Clairol equated hair with sensuality, a quality strictly forbidden in public. "A strand of woman's hair emerging from under the hijab," former President Ali Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani once famously pronounced, "is a dagger drawn towards the heart of Islam." As a rule of thumb, the less you saw peeking out from under scarves on the streets of Tehran, the stronger the hold of the theocracy's most rigid elements.

If you went by appearances alone today, the Islamic revolution could be declared doornail dead, its perforated heart buried in the desert deeper than any nuclear facility. A visitor might even think Iran has already joined President Barack Obama's "community of nations," black tresses flowing as free as those of the young woman playing badminton in the twilight of Tehran's Laleh Park, headscarf not around her head but around her neck, like a bandanna.

What's changed? Only Iran—which, for all its reliability as America's enduring archvillain, never holds still. But now the pace and direction of change stand to determine whether the landmark nuclear deal reached on July 14 prevented a war or merely postponed one. The Joint Comprehensive Plan of Action, as the agreement with the U.S. and other world powers is actually referred to in Iran, took formal effect Oct. 18, and the clock is ticking. The pact rolls back some elements of Iran's ambiguous nuclear program and freezes others—but not forever. In just 10 years, Iran becomes free to use newer, far more efficient centrifuges, enriching uranium perhaps 16 times faster. And in 15 years, it can enrich as much as it likes as fast as it likes, bringing a bomb back within easy reach—should those who rule Iran decide to sprint for one.

In a 110-page document written in dense technical language, the clearest assumption—that over time Iran can grow more trustworthy—remains a leap of faith. "Enemies promise that #Iran will be totally different in 10 years," Iran's Supreme Leader, Ayatullah Ali Khamenei, tweeted on Sept. 16, amid a series of speeches framing culture war as the next phase in the competition between the Islamic Republic and the West. "We must not allow such evil prospects."

A decade is a long time, but the first developments are not cause for optimism. Security services have been arresting dual nationals in Iran like Jason Rezaian, the Washington *Post* reporter held for more

Designer Salar Bil, center, and models before a fashion show, now allowed by the Rouhani government

than 15 months. Khamenei gives speech after speech ruling out any further contact with Washington. And the reason hair is no longer so certain a marker for politics? After Khamenei's security forces brutally crushed the 2009 Green Revolution, which began as a protest over election fraud, the regime struck a tacit bargain with ordinary Iranians, universally understood here: "Don't interfere in politics and you can do whatever you want," says Alireza Rezakhani, 42, a restaurateur in Tehran.

Thus the lush show of bangs under Elham Dezfouli's headscarf works both as fashion and safety valve. "We have no freedom of speech," says the 35-year-old medical student, "so perhaps the way we have of showing dissent is by the way we wear our clothes and things like that."

But stand back just a bit and the picture shifts—and appears to brighten. The arrests of prominent Iranian Americans are widely interpreted inside Iran as hard-liner provocations, an attempt to sabotage an agenda that is about to slip from their grasp for good. The larger trends—including a youthful population eager to engage the outside world—favor the moderates. By agreeing to delink hijab from politics, Iran's rulers surrendered a central tenet of the ideology they claim to serve. Karim Sadjadpour of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace has noted that hijab was one of two issues that, decade after decade, Khamenei held dearest.

Another inviolable tenet? Contempt for dealing with the U.S. That's not looking so firm either.

"Change is unstoppable," says Mohammad Basir, a software worker sipping tea with a female companion beside a man-made lake in Tehran's booming western reaches. "Even during the sanctions it was going on. The lifting of sanctions will just speed it up. It will be much faster and widespread."

70%

Percentage of the Iranian population not yet born at the time of the 1979 revolution

WHATEVER ELSE IT'S BEEN, Iran is not a hermit kingdom. The enveloping black chador encouraged by religious conservatives and irresistible to photographers obscures, among other things, perhaps the most cosmopolitan population in the Middle East. There are 15 daily flights between Tehran and Istanbul, gateway to the West. When it was known as Persia, Iran produced both Islam's golden age and the poet Hafez, who asked, "What/ would/ happen if God leaned down/ and gave you a full wet/ kiss?" Even clerics quote him, which helps explain why Iranians' behavior, in public and private, persistently undercuts an official line that not even the officials pretend to observe. Khamenei maintains a Twitter account in Farsi even though Twitter is barred in the Islamic Republic, just like the satellite television watched in millions of homes.

Today that routine hypocrisy—"the mellowing of the revolution," as one self-described hard-liner put it—means underground music, art and publishing thrive, while government statistics show young people are growing more sexually active. English classes are popular, and three months after the nuclear deal the "Death to America" motif was almost impossible to find in Tehran. "Almost all the things that are happening are not in the regime's favor—and they know it," says Abbas Milani, a Stanford professor teaching a seminar titled Aesthetics of Dissent: The Case of Islamic Iran. "They have utterly failed at what they call cultural engineering."

Milani posits that the private realm will inevitably bleed into the public, redeeming Iran's politics. It's a point of debate taken up one evening outside the Tehran gallery where artist Barbad Golshiri has an exhibit called "Curriculum Mortis," a collection of photos and actual headstones that includes graves of people killed for opposing the Iranian regime.

The gallery's owner, Nazila Noebashari, finds

Construction is booming on Tehran's west side; fashion and piety at a nocturnal religious festival in the capital

hope not only in the exhibit's being permitted by President Hassan Rouhani's government but also in the robust civil society that has persisted in Iran since the 1905 Constitutional Revolution established parliament. Yet today activists are lying low; even efforts to provide medical care for Afghan refugees and stop the shooting of stray dogs bring intense scrutiny from intelligence agencies.

"The Persian personality is to count on the seasons," says Noebashari, accounting for her optimism. "The spring will come. It is in our DNA to hope for the best possible thing."

Golshiri shakes his head. "It's not in my DNA," he says, reaching for a copy of his exhibition catalog, which opens with a quote from *The Waste Land*. "'April is the cruelest month,'" the artist says. "So. That's my spring."

Fifteen years ago, he was writing for several of the 100 newspapers that sprang up with the Reformist movement, every one of which the state shut down. He believes that since the trauma of 2009—when millions went into the streets to protest the evidently stolen re-election of Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, resulting in dozens of deaths, hundreds of arrests, and torture that allegedly included rape—people have no aspiration beyond pain avoidance and a certain level of personal comfort.

"This is how palliative care works," he says. "It's *Waiting for Godot*."

Yet hard-liners do soften, every so often. Rafsanjani is the most famous example. Less than three years after decrying the danger of visible hair, the onetime authoritarian was running for President as a relative libertine. When a television interviewer in 2005 asked how far dress codes might be relaxed were he elected, the cleric replied with a raised finger and a roguish smile. "No nudity!" he chirped—proof enough that not only does Iran change, so do the people running it. The Reformist movement, which in 1997 stunned conservatives by winning the first of a series of landslide elections that empowered the people to push back against a smothering state, actually drew several of its leaders from the students who took over the U.S. embassy in 1979.

"The revolution is slowly going," says one aging former Revolutionary Guard. "Better that we die. Our time is over. For us, for me and my generation. I, for example, always follow my son. Finally, we have to withdraw and to follow them. On everything."

But the System, as even insiders call the unelected, supremely powerful side of Iran's theocracy, also generates new believers. The walls that 27-year-old Mehdi Khanalizadeh breached were around the British embassy, overrun Nov. 29, 2011, by the equally zealous and thuggish regime loyalists known as Basij. Khanalizadeh works for the right-wing news agency Raja and tells me, with a genial smile that's as unusual as the feeling of being spun by a Basiji, that he's "as hard-line as they come." He remains privately proud of breaking liquor bottles in the Brits' diplomatic quarters, though as a good Basiji he is obliged to conform with the later statement of Khamenei, who officially regretted the action, which caused the British to close their embassy. In August they returned.

Khanalizadeh says the Americans could too—on a couple of conditions. "One, accept the Islamic Republic as a legitimate government. It's not sitting on bayonets. It's legitimate.

"Two, admit it's not nuts. It's not crazy. It's not Gaddafi. It's not North Korea. It's logical, complex, maybe more moderate on some issues, rigid on others. This is not me saying this, this is the Leader, the head of state."

So it is. But Khamenei says a lot of things, not always consistent. In April it was: "Of course, the negotiations on the nuclear issue are an experience.

60%

Percentage of university students in Iran who are female

If the opposite side gives up its misconduct, we can continue this experience in other issues." Yet since the experience ended in a pact he personally approved, Khamenei now insists there can be no more talks, forbidding contact with the U.S. even as Iran's Foreign Minister meets with John Kerry.

The contradiction may be expedient, familiar to anyone following the U.S. presidential primaries, where candidates must fire up their most hardcore supporters. "They need this radicalism for local consumption," says Saeed Laylaz, a Reformist economist and analyst who was jailed for a year in 2009. "When they are talking about the U.S., Israel, mainly they are speaking to their base," firming it up in advance of two key elections, both set for February. One will install a new parliament, where Khamenei fears that public exuberance over the nuclear pact will benefit moderates at the expense of conservatives.

The other ballot, held the same day, is a more exclusive affair: voters will select members of the Assembly of Experts, the ossified group that chooses the Supreme Leader. As a practical matter, Khamenei likely has the job as long as he's alive, and rumors about his ill health—he had prostate surgery in 2014—are batted away by insiders. But at 76, he is actuarially unlikely to be Supreme Leader when Iran is free to start spinning more centrifuges. And he has groomed no successor.

Election returns show about 20% of Iranians support the regime come what may. The core appears to have survived even Ahmadinejad, who left office in 2013 deeply unpopular. But for now, the moderate wing led by Rouhani is on the rise, propelled by enthusiasm for the accord that promises to end Iran's status as international pariah. A new English-language newspaper cheerfully covers the (still preliminary) commercial negotiations that keep Tehran's best hotels filled with visiting executives who hope to take advantage of the end of sanctions. The sign outside the Parsian hotel in Tehran reads: ONE BILLION TOURISTS, ONE BILLION OPPORTUNITIES.

Rouhani, 66, is as Establishment as they come in Iran. Unlike any Reformist, who hard-liners fear will abandon theocracy, he has a long-standing relationship of trust with Khamenei, for whom he headed the Supreme National Security Council, which handles Iran's most sensitive issues. But Rouhani is vulnerable elsewhere. Economists say Iran's economy is running on euphoria. "Unfortunately, the expectations are too high," says Mostafa Beheshti Rouy of the private Bank Pasargad. Sanctions remain in place until the U.N. confirms that Iran has complied with the pact, likely before spring, but even their end will provide scant immediate relief, partly because while they were in place, some countries that formerly bought Iran's thick, sulfurous oil refitted their refineries to process lighter crude from less politically problematic countries. The bigger threat is an economy that was in shambles even before sanctions cost it $160 billion in lost oil revenues alone since 2012, never mind the billions poured into a nuclear program with no beneficial side effects.

Much depends on the price of oil—which arch-rival Saudi Arabia appears happy to keep near its currently low $45 to $50 a barrel, knowing the consequences for Iran. Laylaz reckons oil would have to reach $70 or $80 a barrel to generate revenues sufficient to free the state from greater accountability to its people, whom otherwise it will have to tax more and heed more. Cheap oil constrains the regime.

But in a quirk of history, the sanctions had a moderating effect on some of the hardest hard-liners—the clique around Ahmadinejad. Elected as a populist, he governed as a cash machine, doling out lunch money to constituents and millions to political allies, many of whom made fortunes privately peddling oil that Iran had been forbidden to sell as a state. A lot of Porsche Cayennes were sold to what Laylaz calls a new political class: the nouveau riche hard-liner. It's a contradiction in political terms that economists say actually serves Iran's gradual moderation. "If you don't have anything, then you can become a hard-liner, because you don't have anything to lose," says Rouy. "But if you have something, one, you want to keep it, second, you want to increase it."

Capitalism offers no guarantee of political freedoms. Look at China (which Iran's regime has studied intently). But it offers an alternative to radicalism.

5 of 6

2005 presidential candidates who supported an opening with the U.S.

74%

Percentage of Iranians favoring rapprochement with the U.S. in a 2002 Gallup survey (taken by an Iranian pollster who as a student had helped take over the U.S. embassy; he served three years in prison for his part in the poll)

AND RADICALISM IS what Iran's entire ruling apparatus now claims to be against. Since Rouhani replaced Ahmadinejad, Tehran has happily ceded the position of Middle East's public enemy No. 1 to ISIS, the Sunni extremist group that both Iran and the U.S. are battling in Iraq and Syria. ISIS genuinely alarms Iranians, who have watched it slaughter thousands of fellow Shi'ite Muslims. The country is on high alert for infiltration by would-be suicide bombers. But ISIS is also a convenient bogeyman, allowing Tehran to cast itself as a responsible power in the Middle East. The role was useful in the nuclear talks and remains so in Iran's increasingly ugly regional competition with Saudi Arabia, a longtime incubator of Sunni extremism—and a longtime U.S. ally. Iranians both in and out of government make a point of suggesting that Iran would make a more suitable partner for the U.S. than Saudi Arabia going forward, supporting the argument with everything from their shared alarm over extremism to the Shi'ite propensity for order to pride in ancient Persian civilization. "Money is good," says merchant Farsheed Ahmadinia, alluding to Saudi wealth. "But those who have long histories, for 2,000 or 5,000 or 7,000 years, means they know how to make good friends. They are better friends than the Saudis."

But it's Khamenei who really requires convincing

Members of an Iranian paramilitary force re-enact a battle from the Iran-Iraq War; the U.S. backed Iraq

if the relationship with the U.S. is to change for good. "We need more positive gestures from the Americans," says Sadegh Kharrazi, a former Iranian diplomat who wrote a proposed 2003 "grand bargain" with the U.S. In that secret document, Iran promised nuclear transparency and an end to support for Palestinian militants if Washington vowed to abandon regime change in Tehran. President George W. Bush brushed the letter aside. "We know the positive gestures from John Kerry and President Obama," says Kharrazi, who is close to Khamenei. "But we do not have high confidence what will happen after President Obama leaves office."

Meanwhile, trust is encouraged both privately and publicly. Five weeks after the nuclear deal was signed, Ahmed al-Mughassil, the mastermind of the 1996 Khobar Towers bombings that killed 19 U.S. troops, was arrested, having suddenly lost the protection of Hizballah, Iran's proxy in Lebanon. And on Oct. 30, Iran joined peace talks on Syria, something Washington previously opposed. The diplomatic channel opened between governments for the nuclear talks could help avert crises that might not otherwise be avoided.

And crises that still can't be avoided? Israel, a key point of contention, has been on the back burner, brought up by no Iranian in a week of interviews, though several made sly references to AIPAC, the pro-Israel lobby, as a supposedly all-powerful force in American policymaking. "We believe the U.S. is really pursuing regime change," says Abdullah Ganji, managing director of *Javan,* the newspaper most closely associated with the Revolutionary Guards. "We still think that."

"Another problem," he adds, "is the West always tries to promote its culture and beliefs, and we resist that."

If a culture war is indeed where this contest is headed, it's starting with the West dominating what's really a global battlefield. Khamenei's new warnings of cultural "infiltration" echo his predecessor Ayatullah Ruhollah Khomeini's alarm over "Westoxification." But scan the shelves of Morteza Mohammadi's toy store in northwest Tehran—it's all Hello Kitty, SpongeBob, anything Pixar. Defa Lucy is a Chinese knockoff of Barbie, which remains banned in Iran, but the shopkeeper doesn't even stock Sara, the alternative once vigorously promoted by the System. Kids, he says, didn't like how her hijab got in the way of playing with her hair.

"If they want to survive, they'll be forced to live both with the world and with their people," Mohammadi says, when I ask what Iranians will be like 10 or 15 years from now. "They'll be less ideological." —*With reporting by* KAY ARMIN SERJOIE/TEHRAN

Trump at a news conference in New York City on May 23, 2005, announcing the establishment of Trump University

MARIO TAMA—GETTY IMAGES

TRUMP U.

What the litigation over Trump University reveals about the man who would be President

BY STEVEN BRILL

ON MAY 22, AT AN AFTERNOON HEARING TO GO OVER A pretrial procedural issue, U.S. District Judge Gonzalo Curiel in San Diego mused over exactly what kind of consumer-fraud case he was dealing with. Was it analogous to another suit involving something called the Cobra Sexual Energy supplement, which had been alleged, the judge recalled, to be "worth zero"? Or was it was more like the case involving a fruit drink that consumers were deceived into thinking had more pomegranate juice than it actually did?

The distinction would determine whether the plaintiffs' lawyers would be allowed to sue the marketer of the allegedly bogus product on behalf of thousands of customers at the same time, or whether the cases would have to be fought one by one, making them worthless for the lawyers to pursue, because the payoff for each individual client would not be worth the time and cost of going to trial.

So the stakes were high. Yet it was a dreary, highly technical argument—an unremarkable session on the eve of Memorial Day weekend. What was remarkable, however, was that in this hearing—as in multiple other hearings and court filings extending over five years—the lawyers defending the product, while maintaining that it had some value, seemed to concede that it had not been what its marketers claimed it was. Therefore, the question to be decided if and when the case came to trial would be whether and how much the customers were entitled to recover in damages, because what they got wasn't what it was touted to be.

Even the owner and name behind the product—the man whose promotional materials claimed that his personal know-how and hands-on involvement constituted the core value of the product—had already conceded in his own deposition and his lawyers' filings that, though he had been intimately involved in how the product was promoted, he had had little to do with deciding its ingredients and, despite the marketing claims, had been "completely absent" from the company bearing his name that produced and sold it.

What was still more remarkable was that the owner of the product likened by both sides and the judge that afternoon to the Cobra Sexual Energy pill or to adulterated fruit juice was soon to become No. 1 in the Republican presidential polls: Donald Trump.

Politicians often charge their opponents with selling snake oil when they overpromise. But in litigation that has been meandering through court for five years, Trump is being accused of actually selling snake oil. That term was used intermittently with Cobra Sexual Energy supplements during the hearing as shorthand for describing a worthless product that would more easily lend itself to a class-action case, because all the buyers would be entitled to a full refund. However, if

Trump's allegedly deceptive product was more like adulterated juice, which is what Trump's lawyers claimed, that would require individual cases, because the juice had had some value, albeit not the full value, which would have to be gauged case by case.

The snake oil or adulterated juice that Trump is accused of selling has to do with Trump University, a series of adult-education classes offering Donald Trump's real estate investing methods and secrets. At its core, the accusation is that the name was deceptive on both counts: there were no distinctive Trump methods or secrets actually provided. And despite its use of terms like *professors, adjunct professors* and *tuition,* it was never a university.

Trump and his university—which operated from 2005 through 2010, when it was shut down as the San Diego suits and multiple state attorneys general investigations were beginning—lured approximately 7,000 consumers into paying $1,495 to $34,995 for courses where, as the promotional material put it, Donald Trump's "handpicked instructors" would teach them Trump's "insider success secrets" of how to invest in real estate.

Trump "created, funded, implemented and benefited from a scam that cost them … thousands, even tens of thousands of dollars each," the lawyers suing him have argued.

Trump told me recently, in a rare discussion about the details of the case, that he "loves talking about this," because the courses were "fantastic." He has surveys filled out by students, he said, showing a "98% satisfaction rate" that is "better than Harvard's." He is "dying to go to court," he insisted. However, his lawyers so far have thrown five years' of procedural roadblocks in front of a trial. And at least one key decision—in which the judge in that hearing in May potentially sidelined a class action by coming down more on the side of the adulterated-juice analogy—may ultimately keep a jury from hearing the case.

Trump maintains that the lawyers' focus on procedural issues so far does not reflect the merits of his case and the "scam" the plaintiffs are trying to pull off. But the documents that have piled up in court during the pretrial wrangling—even those produced by Trump's own side—tell a story of a school that fell well short of fantastic. Even the claimed satisfaction rates are undercut by Trump's own documents.

A similar case against Trump and Trump University was brought in 2013 by New York State attorney general Eric Schneiderman. But Schneiderman's drive to attract early publicity for his case has far exceeded his skill in prosecuting it. It has also been undermined by his own alleged ethical lapses in going after Trump while soliciting campaign donations from Trump's daughter and one of his lawyers *(see sidebar).*

It is the two less-noticed, related civil cases in San Diego, filed on behalf of thousands of Trump's customers, that provide proof that a leading presidential candidate is in court (and scheduled to sit for another deposition next month) defending a product that shortchanged thousands of vulnerable consumers, a large portion of whom were elderly, targeted with messages that Trump University was their ticket to avoiding spending their final years working as greeters at their local Walmart.

Even if the trials actually happen, they are still probably a year away. But the internal Trump University records already sitting in the case files could become a weapon wielded by Trump's 2016 opponents. They could argue that Trump's foray into enticing aspiring entrepreneurs to tap their credit cards to pay for get-rich-quick classes—where Trump's actual input, other than the marketing, was restricted to a life-size poster of the mogul mounted in front of the room so they could take pictures with it—says a lot about the man under the MAKE AMERICA GREAT AGAIN hat.

"The Next Best Thing"

IT IS "THE NEXT BEST THING" TO BEING Donald Trump's "apprentice," the Trump University ads promised, drawing on what was then the runaway popularity of Trump's television show, *The Apprentice.* Mentors would be "handpicked by me," Trump promised in a promotional video; and, his other promotional materials promised, they would teach students Trump's "secrets," then guide them through get-rich-quick real estate deals and even find them lenders so that their deals could be financed with "other people's money."

The court documents tell a different story. Michael Sexton, who was hired by Trump to be president of Trump University, testified in a 2012 pretrial deposition that "none of our instructors … were handpicked by Donald Trump" and that the curriculum was written by an outside adult-education firm.

The record is replete with evidence that many of the supposed "expert" teachers and mentors—who were mostly paid only sales commissions—had backgrounds in sales rather than experience in real estate investing, let alone successful investing. Two had filed for personal bankruptcy during the time they were mentoring.

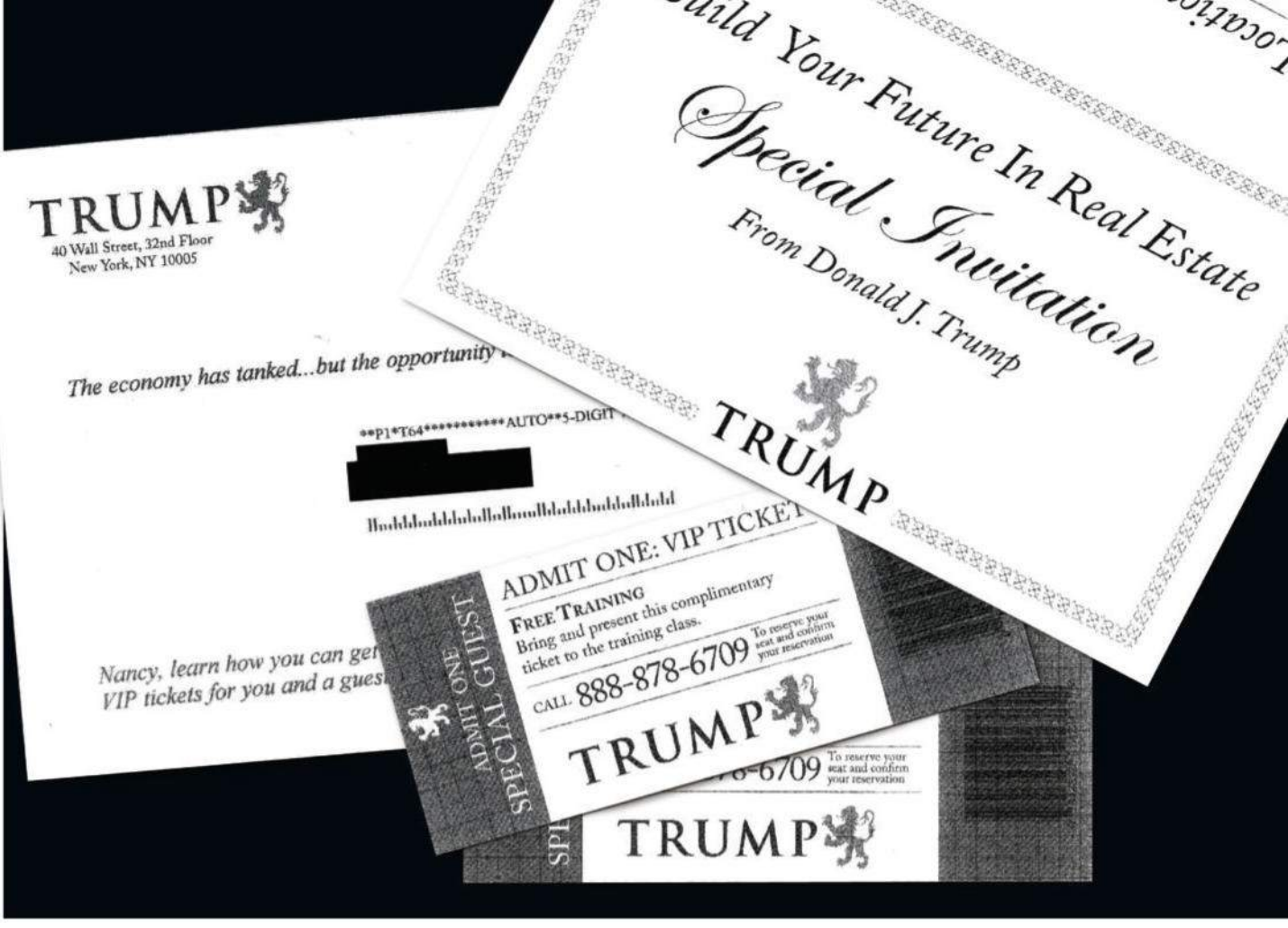
Trump has testified in a deposition (after promising to sue the lawyers suing him) that he had no direct role in creating the curriculum or hiring the teachers. He did not know, he said, if his "university" conferred degrees. (It didn't.) And he could not explain what the sales materials were referring to when they touted Trump's "foreclosure system" for flipping distressed properties.

So far, Trump's only courtroom defense beyond the procedural wrangling has been that these kinds of apparent misrepresentations are the kind of general puffery involved in any commercial marketing. A case his lawyers have cited is one in which Allstate insurance successfully defended its slogan "You're in good hands with Allstate."

More Than a Tough Businessman

MITT ROMNEY WAS ATTACKED IN ADS IN his U.S. Senate campaign and then in his presidential run for being involved in private-equity plays that caused workers to lose jobs while he made millions. Carly Fiorina suffered the same broadsides during her U.S. Senate race, stemming from her ill-fated tenure as CEO of Hewlett-Packard. But neither was accused of defrauding people or otherwise breaking the law; the rap against them was that they were hard-hearted businesspeople. As Trump advances in the 2016 contest, he could face charges of an entirely different magnitude.

The records indicate, for example, that Trump University collected approximately $40 million from its students—who included veterans, retired police



officers and teachers—and that Trump personally received approximately $5 million of it, despite his claim, repeated in our interview, that he started Trump University as a charitable venture.

One of the two San Diego cases has been allowed by the judge to be brought under the Racketeer Influenced and Corrupt Organizations Act, or RICO. This means that, fairly or unfairly, opponents will be able to say that a large group of everyman voters, many of them elderly, have accused a leading contender for the Oval Office of being a racketeer.

The Trump Playbook

THE TRUMP UNIVERSITY "CURRICULUM" was actually a sales funnel. At the top were a series of free 90-minute real-estate-industry workshops conducted across the country in 700 locations. They were promoted by newspaper ads and mass mailings in the form of personal invitations signed by Trump. According to the lawsuits and to Trump University's own business plans—including an elaborate 135-page "playbook," on file as evidence in the suit—the free sessions were meant to persuade attendees to buy a $1,495 ticket to a three-day workshop, touted

Mailings, invitations and tickets sent from Trump University

to those attending the free sessions as being "all you need" to start getting rich.

In the foreword to one of the materials handed out at these sessions, Trump University president Sexton wrote, "Other organizations try to sell help alone, without the proven expertise to back it up, and just when you realize that the advice you paid for is … ineffective—they try to sell you more expensive products. They hook you on promises and never deliver. Neither I nor our chairman Donald J. Trump would stand for that at Trump University."

Yet the playbook spells out how that session was meant to up-sell those $1,495 attendees into mentorship programs costing $9,995 to $34,995. It even uses the term *set the hook* to describe the process of luring people at the free preview session to take the three-day $1,495 course. Once their quarry was on the hook for $1,495, the message to be hammered home beginning on the second day of that program was that three days wasn't nearly enough time to get the students out there making Trump-like deals. Only the more expensive mentorships could do that.

Scripts directed teachers to remind students of their instructors' close association with Trump. "I remember one time Mr. Trump had us over for dinner," the script read, after which the instructor recounted how Trump had confided some nugget of real estate wisdom to him.

"No, I didn't have dinner with him," conceded Gerald Martin, when questioned in a 2013 deposition about a recorded presentation in which he mouths the script's dinner-with-Trump line. "I was just trying to be as close to the [script] as possible."

"I don't know who you're talking about," Trump told me when asked about Martin's dinner tale. "But I will tell you I met many of the professors, and I also studied just about all the résumés. I'm very much into academics. You know, I was a good student."

The "Terrific People" Promise

"WE'RE GOING TO HAVE … TERRIFIC people, terrific brains … the best of the best." That sounds like Trump promising voters in Iowa that in his Administration, winners like Carl Icahn would

FROM COURT DOCUMENTS

be deployed to deal with China. But it's from a 2008 video that Trump appeared in, which was used to convince students attending the three-day session of why they should step up to the mentorship program.

The best lecturer for these sessions, it turns out, was James Harris. As with all the other presenters at the free or $1,495 sessions, Harris was paid a straight 10% of whatever up-sell tickets he sold. Harris' up-sell rate was so good that Trump University executives distributed a transcript of one of his sessions, so that they could learn from the winning elements of his unscripted Q&A at the end, where the master pitchman closed his sales.

Among the highlights of Harris' winning presentation was his promise that Trump "only wants to leave a legacy … He does not need your $1,500."

Trump, too, told me that "all money that I made was going to go to charity." His marketing mailings similarly promised that he was launching the program as a way of "leaving a legacy." However, documents and testimony in the court file indicate that Trump collected approximately $5 million in profit in a series of wire transfers and checks written to him personally by the university—and signed on behalf of the university by Trump.

Trump explained that to me by saying that he had planned to make the charitable donations from his personal accounts, but that because the university had had to shut down and was still paying legal expenses, those donations "never happened." According to Trump lawyer Alan Garten, Trump returned the money to the university from his personal funds once the legal troubles started.

Harris also promised in his presentation that "I can show you how to do no money, no credit, no license, no loan real estate … We make money on every single deal." Following a riff on the frustration of "working for someone else," he offered an alternative scenario that he explained to his students could be theirs if they had the courage to part with $1,495: "I work in my robe a couple of hours a week. Folks, full time for you is going to be six to eight or 10 hours a week. That is it."

Near the end of the session, Harris scolded an 18-year-old who said he might not be able to make the $1,495 class starting on a Friday because he was still in high school. "Take the day off," he told the high schooler. "This is more important … This is a billionaire, and I work for him and am going to show you how to buy and sell real estate."

According to court records filed in the cases, Harris, who boasted in his presentation about not having a college degree, has no known record of real estate success but a long record of being involved in the financial self-help speaking circuit. (The background report Trump University paid for on him simply listed multiple years of "self-employment.")

Harris' cell phone urges that people wanting to reach him send an email via newwealthgenerator@gmail.com. He did not return two requests for comment about his real estate background that I sent to that address.

Tapping Out Credit Cards

THE INSTRUCTORS IN THE $1,495 course told students to fill out forms detailing their personal assets. The ostensible purpose was so that the instructors could counsel them on the best investments. The real purpose, according to court filings, was to ascertain whether they might be targets for the Elite $34,995 up-sell or for less expensive Silver or Gold up-sells. The instructors told their students to contact their credit card companies during a lunch break in order to get their credit limits raised—not so that they could buy properties, as the script said they were to be told, but so that they could charge the mentorship programs to those credit cards.

Kevin Scott, 46, told me that he sat in on Harris' 90-minute presentation at a hotel in Westchester County, New York, in 2008. He then enrolled in the $1,495 course, also run by Harris, where he was persuaded to buy a $25,000 Elite package. Scott, who works for a pharmaceutical company, recalled that he was attracted by the "picture Harris painted" of being able to reap quick profits "by

TRUMP'S MOST USEFUL ENEMY

Most of Donald Trump's return fire in the Trump University litigation has been directed at Eric Schneiderman, a Democrat who was elected New York State attorney general in 2010. It's a smart strategy.

Schneiderman didn't file his case until August 2013, over two years after he began a heavily leaked investigation and three years after the initial civil class action was filed in San Diego, the allegations of which Schneiderman largely piggybacked on. A trial-court judge has now ruled that as a result, most of the alleged victims whom Schneiderman claims to represent are barred from asserting claims because the statute of limitations has expired. The attorney general has appealed the decision.

Worse, Trump was able to fire back with a persuasive ethics complaint against Schneiderman.

The strongest claim in the complaint involves a provision in the state Public Officers Law that prohibits state officials from soliciting contributions from those with interests before their agencies. Trump's complaint alleges four instances in which Trump Organization lawyer Michael Cohen and Trump's daughter Ivanka (an executive vice president of Trump's company) were solicited by Schneiderman or people working for him for campaign donations or help in raising donations while Schneiderman's investigation was ongoing. Affidavits submitted as exhibits to the complaint also charge that Schneiderman mentioned the case to Cohen and Ivanka in private discussions but assured them that, according to Ivanka's affidavit, it was "going nowhere"—that his office merely needed to "go through the motions."

Schneiderman told me that he never solicited money from anyone involved in the Trump organization or discussed the case with them and that any affidavits to the contrary, including Ivanka's, "are perjurious."

An email to Trump's lawyer, which is also an exhibit in the complaint, seems unambiguously to be a solicitation. And Ivanka seems unlikely to risk a perjury prosecution with an affidavit that is at most tangential to her father's fortunes. She has a reputation for not having inherited his habit of over-the-top statements. As Donald Trump's own sworn deposition in this case indicates—in which, for example, he does not claim to have handpicked the teachers—he, too, seems to watch what he says when under oath.

Schneiderman pointed out that the state ethics commission had decided, with no explanation, not to act on Trump's complaint. Which is true, but that may say more about the oft-ridiculed Albany ethics enforcers than it does about Schneiderman. — *S.B.*

One of a series of checks and wire transfers from Trump University made out to and signed by Trump

flipping distressed properties" using "other people's money."

Scott said his mentor accompanied him on a weekend tour of properties in Westchester. At first he was impressed. But when he tried to make a deal to buy and flip the houses, he was told each time by the banks that owned the properties that he had to have financing in place before they would consider his offers. And the nonbank "hard money" lenders who Harris had promised would be made available to him by Trump University were "nowhere to be found," he said.

"It all amounts," Scott said, to a "whole lot of nothing." He adds that because he tapped out his credit cards to pay the tuition, "I ended up being one of those distressed properties; I now have to rent out my house and live in a small apartment." Scott is now one of what are likely to be nearly 7,000 plaintiffs in the class actions.

Polling and Image Above All Else

AS A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, TRUMP claims to eschew the dependence on pollsters and obsession with image that he says disqualify his opponents. But court filings show university employees were regularly reminded that the marketing messages and dialogue they were instructed to use had been rigorously market-tested to create a carefully crafted image. The teachers were always to be called "faculty." A crest that looked like it was borrowed from Yale or Harvard was embedded in the logo. An "admissions department" was listed on the website. The marketing guidelines had sections called "catchphrases/buzzwords" and "tone" that encouraged the use of language such as "elitist," "Ivy League" and "Think of Trump University as a real university with a real admissions process—i.e., not everyone who applies is accepted."

Trump's executives made sure that the address of the university—40 Wall St., a Trump-owned building—was included on everything because it added credibility. One of the answers scripted in the playbook to handle a potential student's objection that the Trump price was higher than those of competing financial self-help programs (like Rich Dad, Poor Dad coaching) put it this way: "Mr. Trump's building is not in Cape Coral, Fla., or in the middle of Salt Lake City somewhere. Don't buy a Kia when you can have a Bentley."

The Wall Street address would eventually add to Trump University's legal troubles. New York State law requires that anything calling itself a university must apply, be vetted, have all instructors vetted and then be certified, none of which Trump did. Despite repeated warnings from state education regulators beginning in 2005, Trump persisted in operating out of 40 Wall St. until winding down operations in 2010. That is what allowed the state attorney general to bring his suit. While still not resolved, it seems like a slam dunk in terms of the charges related to unauthorized operation of a university, even if its claims to recover the students' tuitions have been undermined by the attorney general's miscues.

$1,495

Cost of a three-day program that, according to the playbook and other court filings, was meant to up-sell participants into a $9,995–$34,995 mentorship

Tapping Insecurity and Aspirations

"SO YOU HAD A LONG DAY AT WORK, huh? I think we might just have something to help you out of that 9-5 of yours."

That's an instruction in the playbook for dialogue designed to get people to take the plunge and buy the $1,495 course. "Let them know that you've found an answer to their problems and a way for them to change their lifestyle," the playbook explains.

Those directions come from the playbook's marketing section, titled "Building Rapport and Planting Seeds." It's aimed at up-selling people from the $1,495 course to the $34,995 version. (Again, in Trump's deposition, he says he personally approved marketing and advertising materials but not the actual curriculums.)

"Give them credit for taking a great first step," the playbook says. "But don't let them think three days will be enough to make them successful … People will always take the path of least resistance; do not give them the option."

My interviews with six of those who paid Trump tuition are consistent with the apparent demographic target of the promotional campaigns. They seem to be middle-class or lower-middle-class people anxious about their financial situations and aspiring to do better. In other words, they are the exact group that Trump the candidate is trying to appeal to.

Boyce Chait, 84, and his wife Evelyn, 80, live in New Jersey. They demanded but were refused a refund after their $34,995 mentorship proved, Boyce says, "to be worth nothing. When it came to the nitty-gritty, there was nothing there."

Nonetheless, Boyce said he and his wife would still "vote for Trump over Hillary Clinton," because they are members of the Tea Party.

FROM COURT DOCUMENTS

Hiding Behind Legalisms

THE CRUX OF THE SUITS IS THAT TRUMP defrauded customers by claiming he was handpicking the faculty and arming them to teach his personal secrets, when in fact his only involvement had to do with approving marketing and promotional materials. That would seem to require his lawyers to present as much evidence as possible of his personal involvement in the overall operations of Trump University.

On the other hand, because the suits named him personally (in addition to the corporate entity that owns the university), his lawyers have had a strong incentive to distance Trump the person from Trump the venture. That way they could get him dismissed from the suits while they continued on against the university, thereby shielding his personal assets from a damages award.

The lawyers have walked this tightrope in ways that are at times laughable. For example, although the marketing pitches promised students that Trump owned the university "lock, stock and barrel," in seeking to get Trump dismissed personally, his lawyers have declared that he was "completely absent" from the university and owned none of the stock in the company.

The lawyers' ownership claim is true, technically: The stock of the for-profit Trump University was owned not by Trump but by a for-profit limited-liability corporation. The catch is that two of Trump's personally owned limited-liability corporations in turn owned 92% of that other corporation's stock. That would explain why Trump, his daughter, one of his sons and his parent company's chief financial officer were the only ones authorized to sign checks drawn on the university's account.

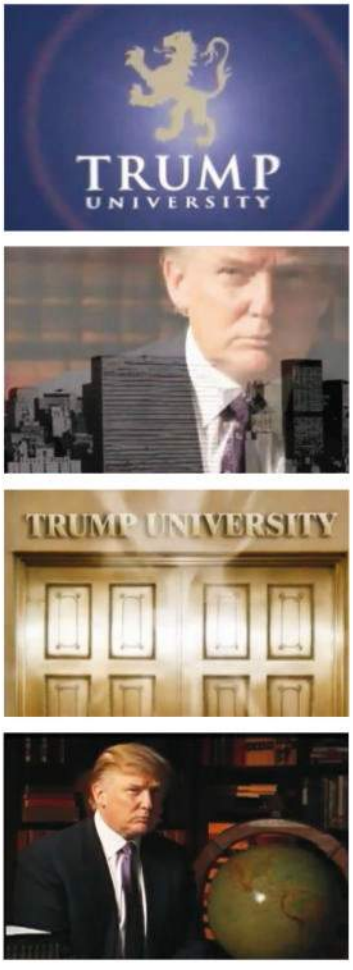
Based on evidence like that, as well as Trump's admitted hands-on role in the marketing of the program, the judge denied the motions to dismiss Trump personally.

"Rave Ratings"

IN THE PRESS, TRUMP HAS HAD A TWO-pronged strategy for defending himself. First, attack the attackers: the lawyers on the plaintiffs' side are "known scam artists," he told me, and New York Attorney General Schneiderman is a "known lightweight" who, Trump alleges, behaved unethically. Trump has also sued one of the first plaintiffs for slander for filing complaints with the Better Business Bureau and her credit-card company, a case which has already been thrown out and which resulted in the court's awarding the woman $790,000 in legal fees last April.

THE ART OF THE SELL

Images from a promotional video for Trump University in which Trump says he "handpicks" the "best of the best" to serve as "professors"



The second part of the strategy is to develop an alternative set of facts and then sell the narrative around them relentlessly. Thus, Trump's answer so far to reporters' inquiries about the suits is that, as he told me, "98% of the students that took the course gave it rave ratings." Trump is referring to questionnaires that he and his lawyer say were filled out by their customers. In court, his lawyers have cited the surveys to prove that even if Trump University was neither a university nor had anything to do with conveying Trump's personal real estate methods, the students think they got something of value—as in, juice that might have been adulterated but was still juice.

The plaintiffs claim the surveys are not credible because they were not anonymous and were filled out while the instructors looked over the students' shoulders, causing their clients to feel pressured into giving positive reviews. Besides, any number of surveys might have been discarded, they contend.

The plaintiffs' lawyers also refute Trump's other argument—that many of the plaintiffs themselves filled out favorable surveys and changed their minds, as Trump told me, only after "the plaintiffs' lawyers got to them." The plaintiffs' lawyers' briefs point out that, as with Kevin Scott in Westchester, it was well after the first days of the mentorship program, which is when the surveys were collected, that their clients realized they had not gotten what they paid for. As federal Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Kim Wardlaw put it in ruling on one of the appeals that Trump has already lost, the fact that one of the named plaintiffs filled out a positive survey and even was videotaped right after the class giving a testimonial is not persuasive because "the recent Ponzi-scheme scandals involving onetime financial luminaries like Bernard Madoff … demonstrate [that] victims of con artists often sing the praises of their victimizers until the moment they realize they have been fleeced."

Those kinds of arguments lend themselves to a he said/she said debate. Accordingly, stories about the dispute have for the most part quoted those suing Trump and then Trump or his defenders citing the 98% satisfaction surveys.

But again the court record suggests that there are facts *not* in dispute that shed more light. When Trump's director of operations Mark Covais filed a sworn affidavit with the San Diego court in 2013, he declared that the satisfaction percentages were taken from "about 10,000" surveys of Trump University customers. Yet in the same affidavit Covais said that there

were 7,611 tickets sold to Trump University programs, while a total of 80,308 people had attended one or more of 2,000 free, 90-minute preview sessions.

How could Trump have 10,000 "rave" surveys from paying customers if there were only 7,611 paying customers? Doesn't that mean that people who showed up for the free session must also have filled out questionnaires? Presumably those nonpaying attendees would have had little to complain about that related to the suits filed by customers who felt cheated out of their money.

Trump told me he was not familiar with the numbers but promised to have one of his lawyers get back to me. Trump in-house counsel Garten later told me that the answer must be that satisfied students filled out more than one survey but that "to the best of my knowledge" only paying customers were given questionnaires.

Trump and his people have pushed the 98% narrative so aggressively that they established a website for it, 98percentapproval.com, where the surveys are posted. But even a quick review reveals multiple questionnaires filled out by people who attended free sessions.

The more apparent inconsistency is that Covais—seeking to demonstrate that Trump University had an accommodating refund policy—declared that the company had issued 2,144 refunds to 6,698 attendees of the $1,495 three-day program, or 32%. That a third of the customers demanded refunds is hard to reconcile with a claimed 98% satisfaction rate, especially since the mass of plaintiffs now suing claimed that they, too, wanted refunds but were, they claimed, told they could not get them because they did not ask for them within 72 hours of the first day of participating in a program. Similarly, the refund rate for the $34,995 program, which according to the lawsuits was tougher on giving money back, was 16%. If at least 31% of one group and 16% of the other were so instantly dissatisfied that they immediately demanded refunds, how could 98% have been satisfied?

"That's because we had such a generous refund policy," Trump said, maintaining that even students who gave his university high marks in their questionnaires could always get their money back if they asked. "I told my guys I don't need the money," Trump told me. "If they're unhappy, give them their money back."

Trump's lawyers pointed me to 14 declarations filed in court by satisfied customers. But also in the court record is a protest by the plaintiffs' lawyers that those declarations were obtained from an "email blast" to all Trump customers asking them to supply success stories but not telling them about the pending litigation and that they might be compromising their right to a recovery if they responded positively. Nonetheless, according to the protest filed by the plaintiffs' lawyers—who subpoenaed all of the responses to the email blast once they learned of it—what they called the "self-serving" email blast "backfired" because the Trump lawyers got back so many negative responses from a mailing list comprised of those who had replied positively to the initial questionnaires.

Of the 14 people who did file declarations of support for Trump, I could reach only two who would comment. They both said they stood by their positive assessments, though one conceded he had since filed for bankruptcy as a result of the investments he made. One whom I did not reach, a retired schoolteacher, revealed in a subsequent deposition that the declaration that a paralegal working for Trump drafted and had her sign did not tell the full story. It excluded the fact, she testified, that after expenses on renovations, she had lost money on the investment her mentor guided her to and that was touted in the declaration as a profitable deal. She also said that, contrary to the declaration she had signed, she had not spoken to Trump on a conference call during one of her mentorship sessions.

Trump told me that the plaintiffs' lawyers have been "dying to settle" the cases, especially given recent rulings by the judge.

'I TOLD MY GUYS I DON'T NEED THE MONEY. IF THEY'RE UNHAPPY, GIVE THEM THEIR MONEY BACK.'

—DONALD TRUMP

The judge did rule that the class action on the bedrock issue of whether the students were defrauded could continue, because the students all claim the same fraud—that they were deceived by the representations of Trump's personal involvement. That was a major defeat for Trump. He will now have to prove the opposite of what he contended when the lawyers tried and failed to get him dismissed personally—when he argued that except for tight control over the marketing, he was "completely absent" from the venture.

But the judge also ruled that once that first issue of whether the plaintiffs were defrauded by Trump's lack of involvement is decided, each plaintiff would have to prove the amount of damages personal to them. If not overturned on appeal, that would mean a separate trial for each student, something that would make the case impossible for the plaintiffs to continue.

"I could settle these cases for peanuts … but I'm not a settler," Trump said. "When you become known as a settler, everybody sues you." Trump maintained that his side has "signed letters," even from the plaintiffs, "saying how great the course was … I have a hundred people who will testify … I want a jury to hear that. "

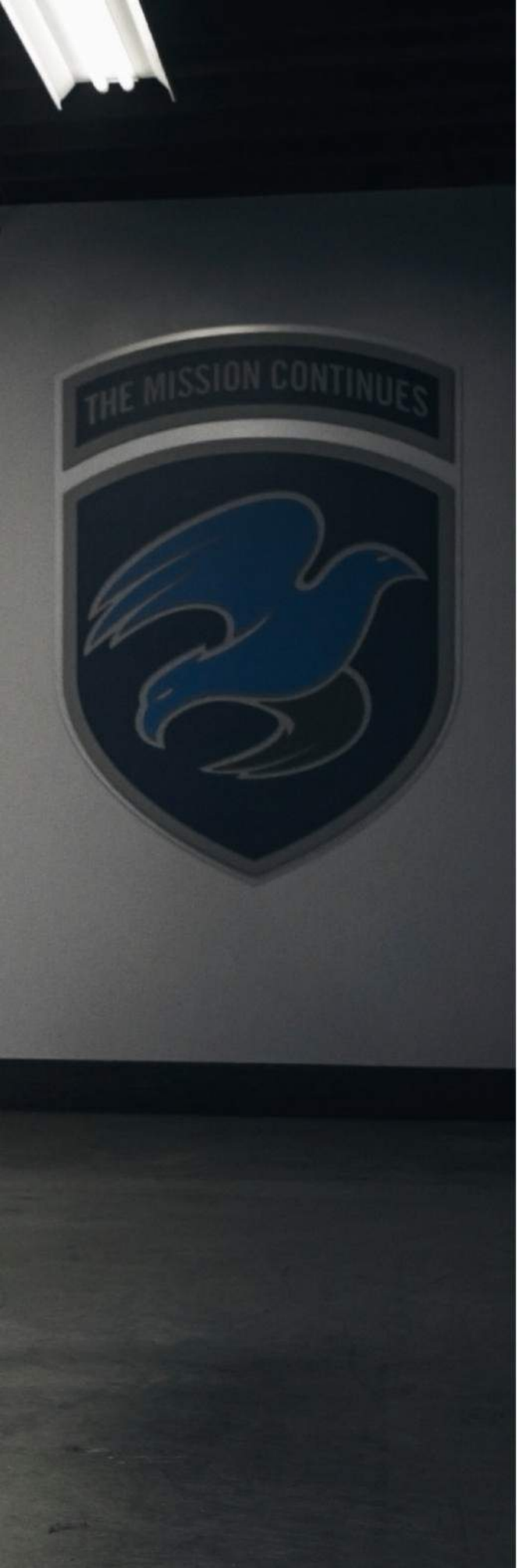
"These cases will go to trial next year," replied Jason Forge, a partner handling the case at the Robbins Geller Rudman & Dowd plaintiffs' firm. "So there's no point in posturing."

Managing Smart

THE COURT PAPERS DO SUGGEST A potential saving grace in a Trump campaign and presidency. The tight financial controls, including granular revenue and expense reports regularly reviewed by Trump, and the playbook—which specifies everything from the room temperature (68 degrees) of the classrooms to positioning the up-sell sales tables so that everyone had to walk by them—show that there is a meticulously managed enterprise behind the bluster. Washington could use some of that. More immediately, that could be a sign that Trump may have a surprise leg up in organizing the chaotic Iowa caucuses. ◻

Tim Smith, left, and Eric Greitens are fighting to steer returning military veterans to public service

PHOTOGRAPH BY JOHN FEDELE FOR TIME



BRINGING THE GOOD FIGHT HOME

The work has just begun for the next greatest generation of war vets

BY JOE KLEIN

IN THE SPRING OF 2010, I WROTE A TIME COVER STORY ABOUT the efforts of Jeremiah Ellis, a 30-year-old Army captain, trying to govern the town of Senjaray in southern Afghanistan. It seemed to me he was using a different skill set than the old-fashioned salute-and-charge-the-hill military. He was trying to protect the local population, and serve them by providing public-works projects—the people wanted him to reopen their school—and deal with the local warlord and elders. It occurred to me that these skills might be preparing him, and thousands of others like him, for a career in public service back home. Ellis stayed in the military, but a 2009 survey showed that 90% of returning veterans want to continue their service in their communities back home. Charlie Mike, *which means "continue mission" in military radio code, is a book about two such veterans—former Navy SEAL Eric Greitens and Marine Sergeant Jake Wood—who came home and founded brilliant public-service organizations. Eric's initiative, the Mission Continues, began with a trip to Bethesda Naval Hospital.*

"What do you really worry about?" Eric asked Steve Culbertson, the CEO of Youth Service America.

"I worry about those kids coming back from the wars with no arms and no legs, and even more about the ones coming home with significant brain injuries and posttraumatic stress disorder," Steve said. "What do they do next? They're the same age as the kids that I work with in high schools and colleges, and yet there's something about them that is so different because they've had this military experience."

"Do you want to meet some of them?" Eric asked—and as he said it, he realized, with no small amount of guilt, that he hadn't visited the wounded at Bethesda Naval Hospital.

"Could we do that?" Steve asked.

"Absolutely," Eric said.

Eric's assistant Rachel Wald arranged the visit. Eric wore his khaki uniform, SEAL pin prominent. He seemed a different person to Rachel, even more serious than usual. They went to the amputee ward and she was just … stunned. Afterward, she couldn't remember how many men they'd visited or what had been said. She just shut down, terrified that she'd lose control. Everything was white, the doctors wore white, the patients were swaddled in white bandages. There were men whose entire heads were covered by bandages. Eric would go up to them and ask where they'd served and whom they'd served with, and what their situation was now. She remembered that Eric and the patients—some of whom were severely truncated, others severely disfigured—talked easily. She nodded sympathetically toward the wives and parents in the rooms, but she was stymied—there was nothing credible, or perhaps even intelligent, to be said. "Sorry" just didn't begin to cover it, and indeed, it might seem callous.

Steve Culbertson thought, as they moved from room to room, that if the rest of the parents of America could see the amputee ward, they would end the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan tomorrow. He, too, was struck by Eric's ease and composure with the men, and the respect they accorded his uniform. The troops had all sorts of visitors—celebrities, politicians, the President himself—but Eric had been there with them, and he spoke their language, an acronym-soaked argot Steve could barely understand. Eric asked them what they wanted to do next, and each, no matter how seriously injured, said the same thing: "I want to go back to my unit" or "my guys" or "my brothers."

The question Steve really wanted to ask at this point was: But what if you can't go back because of your wounds? What would you do then? That would be too bald, too cruel, though, so he began to ask them, "What do you want to do after you retire from the military?" Many—a surprising number, Steve thought—said they wanted to work in the public sector: teach, coach, join the police or firefighters (again, given their wounds, these latter choices were unlikely). He began to discuss the work he did, getting young people involved in service to solve the problems the country faced—education, poverty, climate change, housing and so forth—and asked if they might be interested in doing something about that. Not one of them said no, although Steve couldn't tell if they were just being polite. Given the severity of their wounds, how could any of them think clearly at this point?

They stayed for an hour or so. There was no great aha moment, just the accretion of emotion and amazement at the strength of the young sailors and Marines … and the realization that if their strength wasn't harnessed in some way, it might wither into hopelessness and depression. As he went from bed to bed, talking to the men about their futures, Eric found himself saying, "Great. We still need you."

It was a sledgehammer sentence. He could see it in their eyes. And he knew—he was absolutely convinced—that it was true: the country did need them. Despite their wounds—and because of their wounds—these veterans could come home and be examples, leaders, full-metal citizens.

Eric called his two closest friends, Ken Harbaugh, who was up at Yale Law, and fellow SEAL Kaj Larsen, on his cell phone before he reached the parking lot. "I know what we're going to do," he told Ken. They would help wounded veterans to make the transition into civilian life by doing public service in their communities.

Over the next few months, Eric and Ken came up with a plan to offer fellowships—which sounded less academic and slightly more prestigious than scholarships—to wounded veterans who were willing to go out among the civilians and do some of the same sort of public-service work they had done in the villages of Iraq and Afghanistan. To receive the stipend, they would have to find a local service organization to sponsor them and supervise their work. The core idea was there from the start: if they were helping other people, they might not spend so much time fretting about themselves. They might make new friends, make the transition to civilian life more easily and maybe even re-create the same sense of purpose they'd had in the military.

'WELCOME TO THE MISSION CONTINUES. WHERE DO YOU WANT TO SERVE?'

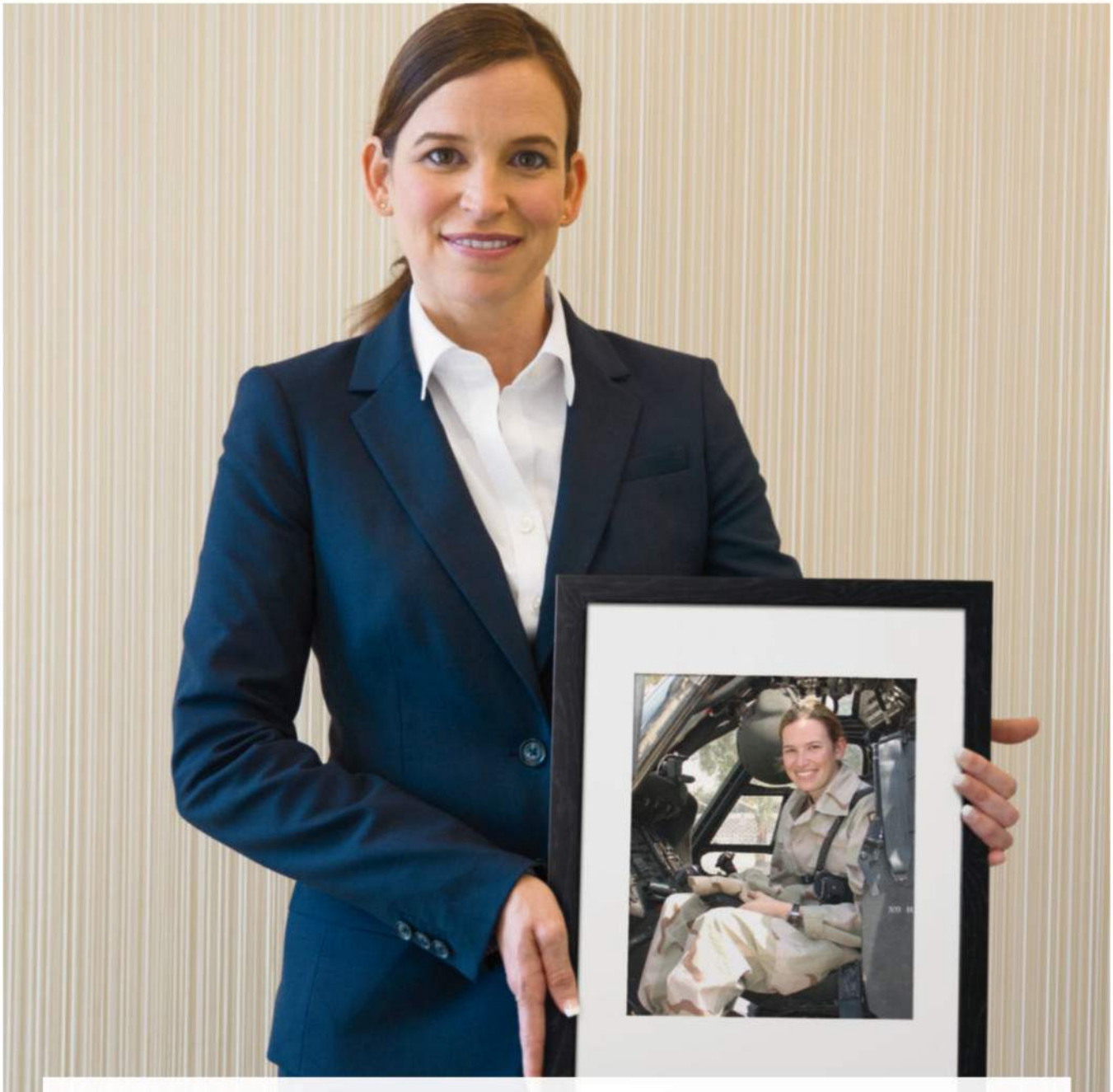
—Eric Greitens, founder of the Mission Continues

TIM SMITH WASN'T WOUNDED in Iraq, at least not physically, but he came back strange. His best friend, Norman "Doc" Darling, had been killed with seven others by an IED in Sadr City in April 2004, one of the bloodiest months of the war. Their unit moved to Mahmudiyah in the Triangle of Death, just south of Baghdad. The war was very bad there too. FOB St. Michael—their Forward Operating Base—was pummeled by mortars and rocket-propelled grenades every day. Tim was never injured, but he was seriously rattled—and that began to manifest itself physically. He developed an allergy to dust. His eyes swelled with severe conjunctivitis whenever he went outside. Tim figured his body was telling him something important: don't go outside.

Tim began to change dramatically when he and his wife Terri returned to St. Louis in February 2007. Loud noises jolted him; there were nightmares and anxiety attacks. He slept with a gun under the bed. He wasn't funny and outgoing the way he'd been before. Much of his personality had been deleted—and he couldn't tell his wife why and wouldn't tell her what had happened over there.

He was also having trouble finding work, or even rousing himself to go look for work. They went on food stamps and were ashamed of it. On the evening of July 4, 2007, the extended family gathered for a picnic in their backyard, which was adjacent to Sublett Park, where there would be a big fireworks show. As the sun set, and just before the fireworks began, Terri noticed Tim rush back into the house—something was definitely wrong—and she decided to follow him in. He was sitting on the bed, weeping. She had never seen him cry before, and it terrified her.

She sat there until the sobbing left him, like a slow-moving storm turning



As an Army logistics officer, Lacy Miske moved a lot of precious cargo. Today, it's not so different.

Over the next five years, more than a million service members will make the transition from military to civilian life. We believe it's our job to help connect them with the jobs, financial education and comprehensive support they'll need to thrive here at home. Case in point: Lacy Miske, who used logistics and managerial skills learned in the Army to transition into a career at Bank of America, where she helps oversee the secure delivery of cash to our network of ATMs and financial centers.

See Lacy's story at **bankofamerica.com/militarysupport**

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Greitens, above, served in Iraq as a Navy SEAL, while Smith was in the Army

to drizzle and then steam on a summer night. It was the fireworks, he told her. He couldn't even handle the damn Fourth of July fireworks show—it was right out there, and obvious, the noise predictable, but it brought back all those months of being mortared. He looked at her, bleary, lost. "We've got to do something about this," Terri said.

They went to the Veterans Administration, which was where Tim met Monica Matthieu, a sociologist then attached to Washington University. She was struck by how determined Tim was to push past the PTSD and get on with his life. He had just found a veteran's-preference job at the central post office, working midnight to 6. He began taking classes in the morning at the University of Missouri at St. Louis. He was 15 credits short of a B.A. in social work. After class each day, he would go home, study, sleep for four hours, then report back to the post office at midnight. "What should I do when I get my degree?" he asked Matthieu.

"What do you want to do?"

"I'm not sure, but I do like helping people."

She told him that he should think about getting a master's in social work at Washington University.

"Really?" Washington University was where the rich kids, the smart ones, went. Tim figured it would be a real stretch for him. He was still feeling semiparalyzed, especially when he was alone in the middle of the night at the post office.

"Why not?" Matthieu asked, and in asking, she knew. "Don't worry, I'll help you." And she did. Tim worked on his grammar and writing and read the books she told him to read. "This guy," she thought, "is the only man I ever met who does exactly what I tell him to do."

He was still suffering, though. There was a morning at UMSL when he left a building after class and the sun was at a certain angle or something—he wasn't quite sure—but he was back in Iraq, freaked and sweating profusely. He ran back inside the building, gathered himself, took deep breaths and went to his next class. Sticking with it, day after day, took incredible courage and determination, Matthieu thought.

So it was a no-brainer when Eric Greitens told her that he was looking for fellows at the Mission Continues. She told Tim about the program, the idea of veterans volunteering in the community. She told him he should meet with Eric, and of course he did.

"Tell me about yourself," Eric said, opening the first significant interview to take place on his old brown leather couch in St. Louis. Tim spoke hesitantly, in a swallowed Midwestern mumble, but he told Eric the whole story: what had happened to him in Iraq and, more significantly, what was happening to him back home. He found that talking to Eric was easy, even though he was an officer. Tim told him more than he'd ever told Terri.

"How would you like to do a Mission Continues fellowship?" Eric asked.

"What's a fellowship?" Tim replied.

Eric explained the program, and Tim said, "Wow. That sounds like a pretty good deal. I'd love to do that."

"Well, then," Eric said, extending his hand, "welcome to the Mission Continues. Where do you want to serve?"

Tim served as a volunteer, then as a staff counselor, at the VA, and also pursued his master's in social work. One day in class, studying urban economic development, he had a thought and wrote down *cleaning.* There were hundreds of veterans like him, going to school by day and looking for ways to make money at night. He started a business, Patriot Cleaning Services, which used veterans to clean up offices. The business slowly gained steam, and Tim slowly regained confidence. Eventually, there was enough business that he could devote himself to Patriot full time. He even coined a slogan: "We do corners."

AND THAT'S WHAT I've learned from the veterans I've met over the past five years: they thrive on the good feelings that come from helping others. They are a generation of volunteers, every one of them. The Mission Continues has had more than a thousand fellows, and thousands more are working in local service platoons across the country. And the rest of us have something we can learn from them this Veterans Day: that active, full-metal citizenship not only helps veterans return from the wars to regain a sense of purpose and stability, but it also helps to build a stronger country. Eric Greitens is running for governor of Missouri as a Republican in 2016; other veterans across the country are moving into leadership roles. In a time of rampant cynicism, they are a cause for real optimism about our future. And the example they set—of active, rather than passive, citizenship—points the way toward a more robust American democracy in the future. As Eric Greitens said, we thank them for their service. But we really do still need them. ◻

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COURTESY OF THE SUBJECTS

I NEED MY
morning joe
PASSION
POLICY
THOUGHTFUL DISCOURSE
GROUND
DEBATE
COMMON
HEART
INSIGHT
AGENDA
EDGY
EDGY
POLITICS
LEFT
FORWARD
RIGHT
INSIGHT
CIVIL
RIGHT
UNSCRIPTED
REAL
LEFT
DEBATE
POLICY
EVERY
DAY
EDGY
BIPARTISAN
FORWARD
REAL
EVERY
DAY
AGENDA
DEBATE
REAL
CIVIL
CIVIL
REAL
EVERY DAY
WEEKDAYS
6 AM/ET
MSNBC

Stand up against attacks on cultural heritage...

...and celebrate the culture, objects and places that matter to you.

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Time Off

'DANIEL CRAIG WEARS 007'S CULTURAL CONCEITS LIKE A SAVILE ROW SUIT WHILE REMAKING THEM FROM THE INSIDE.' —PAGE 59

Though now rendered in 3-D, Snoopy and Charlie Brown are familiar as ever

MOVIES

Charlie Brown's new look feels like old times in *The Peanuts Movie*

By Isaac Guzmán

HAVING SUFFERED YET ANOTHER humiliation in *The Peanuts Movie,* Charlie Brown takes stock of his life and imagines reinventing himself as a winner. In his fifth big-screen incarnation, the desultory everyboy and all his pals, from Snoopy to Pig Pen, have been transformed into three-dimensional beings, and Charlie now sports a semisculpted single hair on his forehead and subtle texture in the fabric of his yellow shirt with its jagged black stripe. As he considers his klutzy past, his memories flit by as black-and-white comics pulled straight from the archives of Charles M. Schulz—soaked to the bone by a rain cloud while standing on the pitcher's mound, flat on his back after an umpteenth attempt to kick Lucy's football.

When the Little Red-Haired Girl moves in next door, a smitten Charlie undertakes a cringeworthy campaign to impress her. Then he improbably achieves cool status thanks to a perfect score on a big test. At first he warms to the attention—even Lucy thinks he's a genius! Then it makes him squirm, especially when he learns it's all a mistake. He could have been the hero; instead he's just the goat.

In this digitally produced, 3-D domain, the *Peanuts* gang feels remarkably familiar. Their heads may be spherical, but their facial expressions are still rendered in Schulz's two-dimensional scrawl. Their voices remain understated and childlike, while the squawking speech of adults is more nuanced than ever, performed by New Orleans musician Trombone Shorty.

With a screenplay co-written by

20TH CENTURY FOX/PEANUTS WORLDWIDE LLC

A frame from the first Peanuts *strip, Oct. 2, 1950*

Schulz's son Craig and grandson Bryan (plus Bryan's film-school pal Cornelius Uliano), the new film hews strictly to the past. The first 30 minutes is dedicated almost entirely to scenes and settings lifted from early strips of the '50s and '60s—from the kite-eating tree to Snoopy's "dark and stormy night" to Lucy's psychiatric-help booth, which still charges a nickel. Charlie even gets tangled up in the extra-long cord of… a telephone. Cell phones and computers have yet to reach this preserve of youth, and nobody blinks an eye when Linus shows off a toy triplane just like the Red Baron flew in "the Great War"—because, sure, kids everywhere understand casual references to the dogfighting aristocrats of a century-old conflict.

As directed by Steve Martino *(Horton Hears a Who!, Ice Age: Continental Drift), The Peanuts Movie* is deeply rooted in the look and tone of Schulz's soulful comic strip. Visually, it retains the linear simplicity celebrated in a new book, *Only What's Necessary: Charles M. Schulz and the Art of Peanuts,* by graphic designer Chip Kidd and photographer Geoff Spear. Their collection of the cartoonist's drawings and ephemera reveals a creator so obsessed with refining his characters that they reached their final forms only by 1965, which happens to be the year they were featured on the cover of TIME.

In the 50 years since Schulz's comic was first animated, with 1965's *A Charlie Brown Christmas,* more than four dozen *Peanuts* TV movies and specials have been issued. But only that first show and *It's the Great Pumpkin, Charlie Brown,* made a year later, remain essential. With Linus' riveting soliloquies about clinging to faith and sincerity in the face of voracious materialism, they managed to be simultaneously uplifting and heartbreaking.

The Peanuts Movie aims for the same frisson of underdog triumph. But when the Little Red-Haired Girl tells Charlie that he's a genuine winner, her accolades sound like the cloying lines of a "very special episode." Yes, Charlie Brown finally gets the girl, but *Peanuts* traditionalists wind up feeling good grief for an opportunity missed. ◻

REVIEW

A chilling peek beneath soiled white collars in *Spotlight*

THERE'S A CONFESSIONAL booth's worth of bad news in *Spotlight,* director and co-writer Tom McCarthy's cauterizing drama about the Boston *Globe*'s 2002 exposé on priestly pedophilia. The good news, for McCarthy and viewers, is that it all played out in Boston—the Athens of America but also a city that provides implausible deniability: Everyone in power knew what everybody did. And what other people did about it. And whether someone did anything at all.

It's this sense of community betrayal and misdirected allegiances—it was the Catholic Church, after all—that makes *Spotlight* an emotional tour de force. "If it takes a village to raise a child," grumbles a lawyer (Stanley Tucci) who is handling 80-odd abuse cases, "it takes a village to abuse one." No one is innocent who doesn't act. Not even the avenging angels of the fourth estate.

McCarthy lets the facts uncovered by the paper's Spotlight team of investigative reporters—Sacha Pfeiffer (Rachel McAdams), Michael Rezendes (Mark Ruffalo), Walter "Robby" Robinson (Michael Keaton) and Matty Carroll (Brian d'Arcy James)—speak for themselves. There are few moments of confrontation, unless it's between a long-unheeded victim of the church and the journalists who have more or less stumbled on a story that's been festering for years. Deftly avoiding melodrama, McCarthy fills *Spotlight* with process, showing how fragments of information rise, converge and ultimately metastasize into the story of a decades-long cover-up. There's a consistent tension between faith and the facts—this is Boston, and everyone's befogged, both by the unspeakable nature of the crimes and the identities of the perpetrators.

—JOHN ANDERSON

As Spotlight team reporters, Keaton and Ruffalo force an entire city to examine a collective conscience

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REVIEW

Spectre wins long bet on Bond market

SAM MENDES' NOVELISTIC, operatic *Spectre* elevates the James Bond franchise even higher than 2012's *Skyfall*. This sophisticated sugar rush is the longest Bond film ever, but it cruises by with an elegant sense of danger. As with all of Daniel Craig's 007 outings, it amps up the intelligence and tamps down the attitude. Before dropping an assassin from a helicopter over Mexico City's Day of the Dead celebration, Bond (Craig) gathers crucial intel. Yet the resulting headlines force spymaster M (Ralph Fiennes) to put Bond on probation as MI6 reluctantly prepares to shut down the double-0 program. Bond disobeys orders, seeking the assassin's widow and enlisting a former enemy's daughter (Léa Seydoux). Soon he's sneaked into a meeting of SPECTRE, whose leader (Christoph Waltz) is tricking nations into a global-surveillance pact.

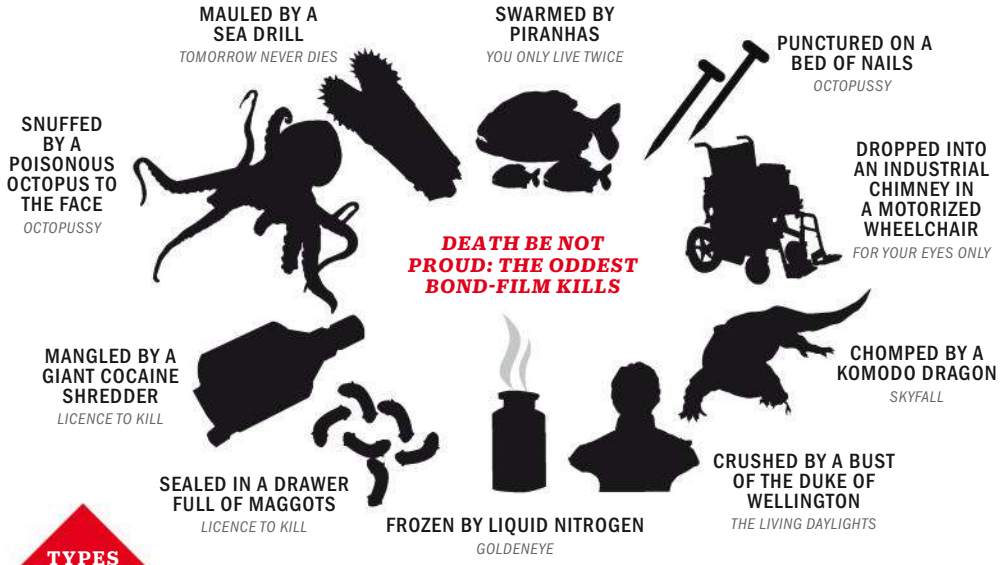
Mendes, a cerebral director who balances action and erudition, lets us savor every conspiracy, chase and exotic locale. Craig, in what may be his franchise finale, wears 007's cultural conceits like a Savile Row suit while remaking them from the inside. He gives the character more soul than expected. Well done, Mr. Bond. —JOE NEUMAIER

BOND'S BODY COUNT

He's got a license to kill, and he's not afraid to use it. Over 23 movies from EON Productions—*Spectre,* in which he questions his use of deadly force, marks 24—James Bond has been forced to dispatch scores of villains. This analysis of the franchise finds that some Bonds are deadlier than others, and remembers 007's wildest, weirdest kills.

—Dan Stewart and Merrill Fabry

The most lethal movie Bond? Pierce Brosnan, with the highest average kills per movie


MAULED BY A SEA DRILL
TOMORROW NEVER DIES
SWARMED BY PIRANHAS
YOU ONLY LIVE TWICE
PUNCTURED ON A BED OF NAILS
OCTOPUSSY
SNUFFED BY A POISONOUS OCTOPUS TO THE FACE
OCTOPUSSY
DEATH BE NOT PROUD: THE ODDEST BOND-FILM KILLS
DROPPED INTO AN INDUSTRIAL CHIMNEY IN A MOTORIZED WHEELCHAIR
FOR YOUR EYES ONLY
MANGLED BY A GIANT COCAINE SHREDDER
LICENCE TO KILL
CHOMPED BY A KOMODO DRAGON
SKYFALL
SEALED IN A DRAWER FULL OF MAGGOTS
LICENCE TO KILL
FROZEN BY LIQUID NITROGEN
GOLDENEYE
CRUSHED BY A BUST OF THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON
THE LIVING DAYLIGHTS

TYPES OF DEATHS

131	36	122	140
Gunshot *Including machine guns, pistols, harpoon guns, flare gun, nail gun*	**Water** *Includes shark deaths, drowning in bubbling mud or radioactive water, electrocution in bathtub or by electric eels*	**Midair** *Includes planes, helicopters, parachutes, a zeppelin*	**Explosion** *Includes cars, amphibious vehicles, swallowing compressed-air bullets*

SPECTRE: SONY PICTURES; PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY ALEXANDER HO FOR TIME; BROSNAN, CONNERY, DALTON, LAZENBY, MOORE: GETTY IMAGES; CRAIG: COLUMBIA PICTURES

Goulding joined Taylor Swift last month to perform Goulding's hit "Love Me Like You Do"

MUSIC

Ellie Goulding's *Delirium* is a fever dream on a dance floor

IN AN ERA WHEN ONE WELL-TIMED viral hit can launch a star seemingly overnight, Ellie Goulding's ascent to pop's upper echelons was a remarkably slow burn. Her breakthrough single, "Lights," was first released in her native England in 2010, but it took more than two years for the song to crack the Top 5 in the U.S. During that time, she performed at William and Kate's wedding reception, sang for the Obamas at a White House Christmas-tree-lighting ceremony and bridged the gap between Lady Gaga and Mumford & Sons by marrying stylish electro-pop with a folk sensibility. ("Figure 8," from 2012's *Halcyon,* might be the only song on record to pair a harp with a dubstep beat.)

Goulding turns up the heat on her third LP, *Delirium,* out Nov. 6, but the only fever she's coming down with here is of the Saturday-night variety. She stacks the album with one dance-floor banger after another, calling in the big guns to assemble club stompers that should translate well live when she tours arenas next year. Greg Kurstin, who co-wrote Adele's new single, "Hello," and Max Martin, the Swedish hitmaker behind recent No. 1s from Taylor Swift and alt-R&B lothario the Weeknd, worked on all but two songs.

That lets Goulding soar but also puts her in a little bit of peril. *Delirium* is her slickest album to date, one that doesn't take a breather until her *Fifty Shades of Grey* soundtrack smash, "Love Me Like You Do," arrives past the halfway point. Yet with her collaborators' ubiquity comes familiarity, and even the airy texture that makes Goulding's voice so distinct can't keep some songs from sounding as if they could have belonged to her producers' other clients.

Thankfully, Goulding retains some of the weirdness that has set her apart from the steady stream of pop exports pouring in from across the pond. On "Don't Need Nobody," she warps her vocals into an ominous siren just before the chorus slams in. The lead single, "On My Mind," will be on yours too after layers of repetitive vocal fragments and guitar loops build to one catchy conclusion. These songs are more than infectious enough to hold their own atop the charts. If Goulding is lucky, she won't have to wait two years to get there this time.

—NOLAN FEENEY

MUSIC

Tim McGraw stays country strong

AS ONE OF MODERN COUNTRY'S most enduring superstars, Tim McGraw has been in the trenches while the boundaries of his chosen genre have shifted. But *Damn Country Music,* his 14th album, is at its best when he's operating in Nashville's classic mode—paying tribute to "old stray dogs and guitars playin'" on "How I'll Always Be" or chronicling the giddy highs and heartbreaking depths of romance on the charging "Love Is." Superstar duo Big & Rich stop by for "California," while McGraw's 18-year-old daughter Gracie provides an assist on the album opener, "Here Tonight." That song and the shimmering "Losin' You" find McGraw tipping his cowboy hat toward musical trends that have recently hit the heartland—stomping beats, whooping choirs—which is an understandable gesture. But McGraw shines most brightly when he's foregrounding his warm, supple voice and keeping the music that surrounds him uncluttered. Perhaps that's why the album closes with "Humble and Kind," in which the "good life" means one governed by manners and grace.

—MAURA JOHNSTON

McGraw has sold over 40 million albums since 1992

GETTY IMAGES (2)

Play my “Friday Night” playlist.
What album is this?
Tell me the news.
Dim the lights.
Connected to your life.
Controlled by your voice.
Hands-free and always on to read the news, answer questions, play music, check traffic, weather and much more. Just ask.
INTRODUCING
amazon echo

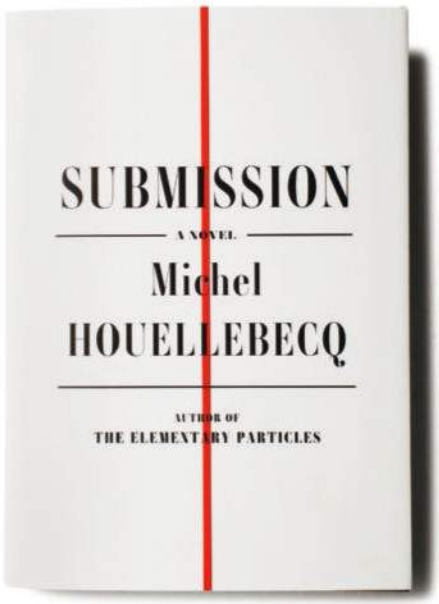
TIME PICKS

MOVIES
Angelina Jolie writes, directs and stars opposite husband Brad Pitt in ***By the Sea*** (Nov. 13), a grownup portrait of a marriage on the rocks set during a seaside holiday in the 1970s.

MUSIC
On her debut album *Know-It-All* (Nov. 13), 19-year-old Canadian singer **Alessia Cara** lends her husky, soulful voice to songs about social alienation, body image and childhood dreams.

BOOKS
In the story collection ***A Wild Swan,*** Pulitzer Prize winner Michael Cunningham conjures dark backstories for fairy-tale eccentrics from Rumpelstiltskin to the lonely witch of "Hansel and Gretel."

TELEVISION
Flesh and Bone (Nov. 8), a new Starz series from *Breaking Bad* writer Moira Walley-Beckett, finds compelling drama in the bloodthirsty world of professional ballet.



FICTION

A 21st century French revolution

SUBMISSION, A NOVEL BY FRENCH author Michel Houellebecq that is newly available in English, tells the story of an Islamic political party overtaking France's government at the ballot box and fundamentally changing society. It became an instant best seller in Europe when it was released on Jan. 7, the same day Muslim extremists murdered 12 people at the Paris offices of *Charlie Hebdo*. In the months since, an already tense Europe has dealt with a wave of migrants and refugees from Syria against a backdrop of fear of historic transformation. In the U.S., presidential candidate Ben Carson stated that no Muslim should be elected to the White House. Houellebecq is never easy reading, but on those grounds alone, *Submission* may be the most relevant book of the year.

Over the course of the novel, a fictional Muslim Brotherhood consolidates power in France by joining with the neutered Socialists in the 2022 elections, narrowly wresting control from Marine Le Pen (the right-wing politician, here rendered by Houellebecq as impassioned but ineffectual). The changes the new political party enacts seem to make life only more difficult in a nation that, in Houellebecq's imagining, had already been teetering on the verge of collapse. Change occurs at a bizarre remove: from the forced veiling of women to the defunding of education to the encouragement of Jewish immigration to Israel, everyone more or less goes along.

Before the election, the book's central character, a literature professor, reflects that his long-held hope of a calm life is now impossible, no matter which side wins: "There was no reason that I should be spared from grief, illness, or suffering. But until now I had always hoped to leave this world without undue violence." It's the sort of dream only someone raised in an industrialized nation in the latter half of the 20th century might have had. So much for that.

But Houellebecq stops short of portraying violence or even resistance; the book ends with the professor's conversion to Islam, about which he feels little but a nihilistic comfort at having behaved in the socially correct manner. The lack of narrative fireworks is particularly jarring given Houellebecq's résumé, which contains more instances of provocation than it does fiction. He was acquitted in 2002 after being charged with inciting racial hatred for calling Islam "the stupidest religion" and has referred to himself as "probably" Islamophobic.

Houellebecq's restraint on the page, though, his schematic logic and bland refusal to indulge panic, seems somehow realer than real life. And *Submission* has less to do with religion than you might think. It examines rapid political change in general: How much of it are we meant to live through? And does it move inevitably toward extremes? If it weren't the Muslim Brotherhood ruling France, after all, it would be Le Pen. She too is animated by beliefs that, if given purchase, would change the face of Europe.

Even those with concerns about Houellebecq's subject can acknowledge the present moment's potential for radical change, in one direction or another. At a moment in which American novelists seem wary of delving into politics, Houellebecq has clomped onto the world stage and delivered a book whose brash conceit is getting far more attention than its frightened heart. It's not Muslims whom Houellebecq is scared of. It's the future. —DANIEL D'ADDARIO

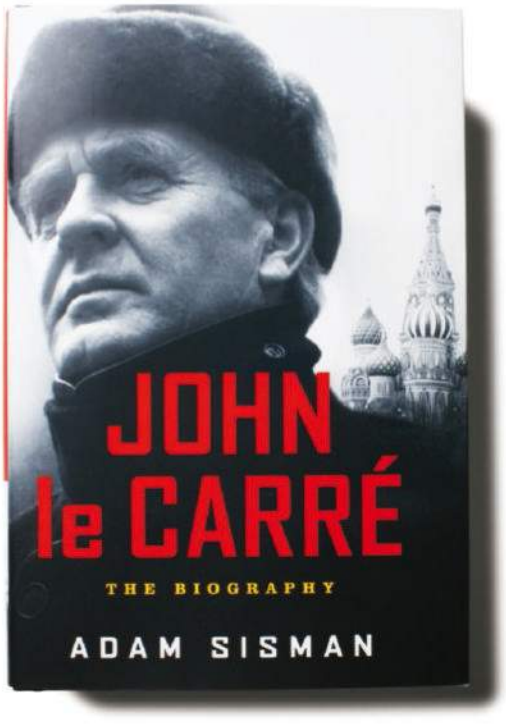
FLESH AND BONE: STARZ; IRVING: GETTY IMAGES

BIOGRAPHY

A most elusive man

IN 2003 I TOOK THE SLEEPER TRAIN FROM LONDON DOWN to Cornwall to interview David Cornwell, better known as the novelist John le Carré, for this magazine. Having never taken a sleeper train before, I mistakenly thought it was possible to sleep on one. I showed up at his magnificent cliff-top home exhausted and very much the worse for wear. But I realize now that I would have been no match for him even on the best day of my life.

Le Carré—as we'll call him—is the most demonically charming and articulate writer I've ever met. It's ironic that the man who demystified James Bond, substituting in his place the sweating, gray-faced, raincoated spymasters of the Smiley novels, is himself as smooth and charismatic as a real-life 007 and twice as inscrutable. As such he makes elusive quarry for Adam Sisman in *John le Carré: The Biography*—but Sisman is an implacable hunter, and the pursuit is well worth following.



Le Carré was educated at Eton and Oxford, but his childhood was no patrician idyll. His father Ronnie was an irredeemable con man who did time for fraud. "He could put a hand on your shoulder and the other in your pocket," le Carré's brother Tony says, "and both gestures would be equally sincere." Le Carré inherited from him good looks, great verbal and social facility and a powerful gift for invention. For a boy raised on deception, the professions of spy and novelist seem overdetermined: MI5 recruited him as an undergraduate, and he spent six years there and at MI6. His disillusionment—with espionage, war, politics, humankind—ultimately boiled over into *The Spy Who Came In From the Cold,* the book that made his name, a magnificent thriller and a devastating account of the appalling compromises and human consequences of the shadow war.

> We all confabulate our identities, but in le Carré's case it can seem like a compulsion

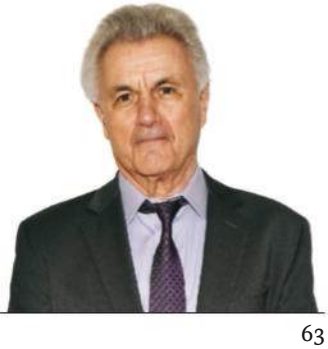
This much is clear. Other facts are harder to pin down—we all confabulate our identities, but in le Carré's case it can seem like a compulsion, and he has his father's gift for making it all utterly plausible. "Everything he says," Sisman writes, "needs to be examined skeptically." Even his oddly francophone pseudonym has multiple origin stories. For le Carré, his gift for fiction seems to have been both a blessing and a curse, a means of expressing deep, urgent truths about the world around him but also of glossing over difficult truths about his own life. It makes him a maddening biographical subject but also an endlessly intriguing one. The truth behind the fictions may be that if you were born out in the cold, as le Carré was, you can never quite come all the way back in. —LEV GROSSMAN

FICTION

The world according to John Irving

JUAN DIEGO IS A FAMOUS novelist, 54 but not in the best of health, on a 16-hour flight to Hong Kong. Juan Diego is also a Mexican kid growing up in a dump in Oaxaca. How can these two people be one? At the beginning of *Avenue of Mysteries,* John Irving's 14th novel, the older Juan believes they aren't: "He'd had two lives—two separate and distinctly different lives."

Irving slowly unveils the miracle by which those two stories are really just one. Juan of the dump teaches himself to read Spanish and English from books other people threw away, in the company of his sister Lupe, who's blessed with second sight but cursed with a speech impediment that renders her unintelligible to everyone else. Meanwhile, Juan of the novels meets a mother and daughter, both of whom he enjoys hearty Irvingian sex with, and retraces in dreams and memories the long avenue of his life: "What leads us where we're going, the courses we follow to our ends, what we don't see coming, and what we do—all this can be mysterious, or simply unseen, or even obvious." —L.G.



The Chicago city council **voted to approve the zoning proposal** for the Lucas Museum of Narrative Art, which will include memorabilia from George Lucas' *Star Wars*.

President Obama **welcomed the world-champion U.S. women's national soccer** team to the White House:

'This team taught all America's children that "playing like a girl" means ... being the best.'

Chips Ahoy released a **limited-edition hot-cocoa flavor.** The cookie has a chocolate base, cocoa center and marshmallow chips.

Adele's "Hello" logged **the biggest digital-sales week ever:** 1.1 million downloads.

Facebook CEO Mark Zuckerberg said the company is working on a way to let people **opt out of annoying game invites.**

Sandra Bullock will lead a new, **all-female *Ocean's Eleven* film.**

***TIME*'S WEEKLY TAKE ON** **LOVE IT** **LEAVE IT** **WHAT POPPED IN CULTURE**

A Vermont hotel is serving a special **roadkill-themed menu** for $75 per person.

CNN asked Senator Lindsey Graham **to play a round of "date, marry or disappear forever"** with Sarah Palin, Carly Fiorina and Hillary Clinton.

A semitruck crashed in northern Arizona, **spilling 44,500 lb. of pizza dough** onto a highway.

Justin Bieber **stormed offstage** at a performance in Norway; he later apologized, explaining that it had been "a rough week."

After winning an Airbnb-sponsored competition, a 27-year-old Brazilian man **spent the night in Paris' catacombs,** surrounded by millions of skulls and bones.

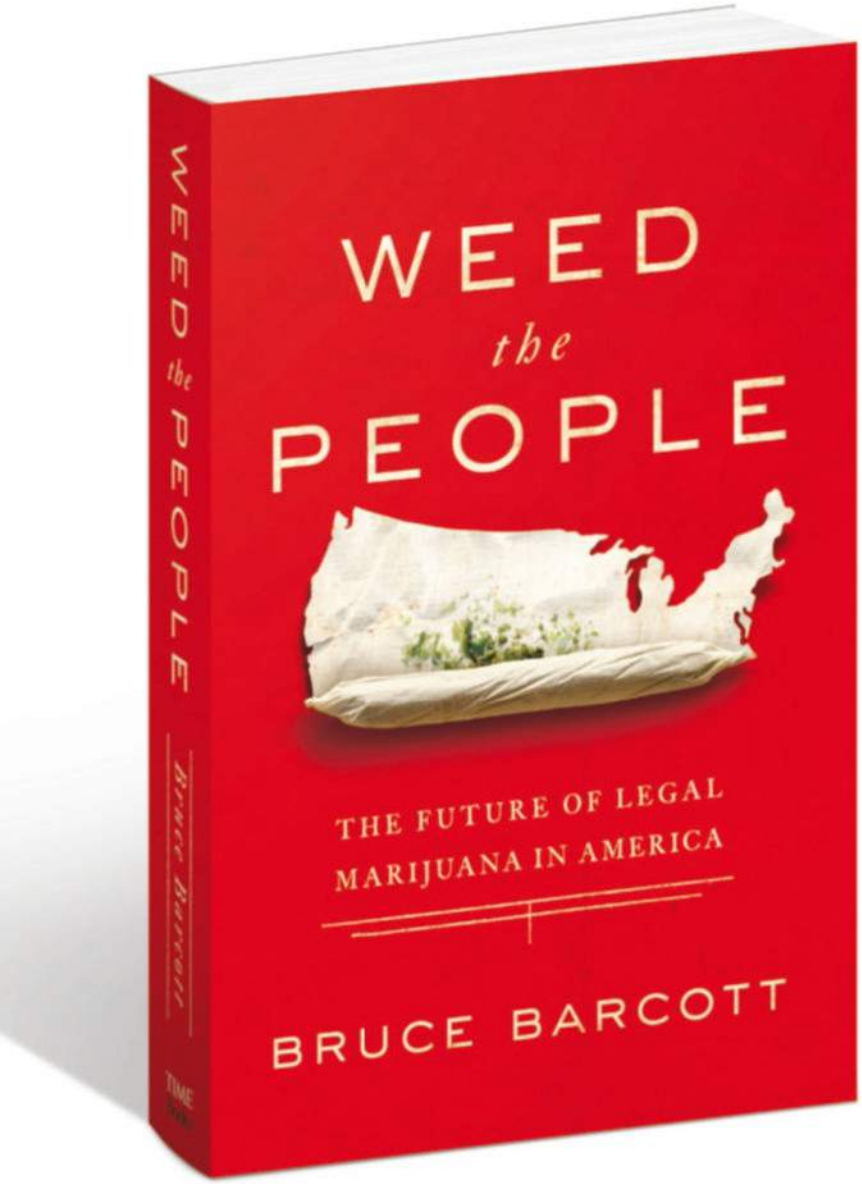
This year's *Today* show anchor costumes—characters from *Peanuts*—**were unusually creepy.**

CHIPS AHOY: MONDELEZ INTL.; PIZZA: ALAMY; ROADKILL: HOTEL VERMONT; CATACOMBS: ADELE: AP; GETTY IMAGES (12)

By Daniel D'Addario, Nolan Feeney, Samantha Grossman and Ashley Ross

MARIJUANA GOES MAIN STREET

INSIDE THE BRAVE NEW WORLD OF LEGAL WEED



"Engaging, informative, and very funny."
—Seattle Magazine

"In this investigative journey, Barcott explores the new frontier, from science to sales."
—Entertainment Weekly

"A great point-of-entry for novices as well as a readable, fascinating look at legalization."
—Boulder Weekly

"Bruce Barcott wades into the tumult of a burgeoning industry and emerges with a book that's personal, timely, funny, and provocative."
—Maria Semple, author of *Where'd You Go Bernadette*

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THE AMATEUR

In which I give my dog a personality test and learn a lot about … myself

By Kristin van Ogtrop

YOU'VE SEEN THE BUMPER STICKER: "MY DOG IS SMARTER than your honor student." And maybe you've wondered—while you listened to your honor student complain that even though he's lived with you since birth, he can never remember where you keep the cereal—could that actually be true?

As you know, we live in a world that is slowly being overtaken by free online tests. I'm not sure how I learned anything about anything before Buzzfeed asked me which Disney princess I was. Just in the past few weeks, I have taken a free test to measure my EQ by looking at photographs of people's eyes and another free test that measures how many words I can type in 60 seconds. I now know that I have a higher EQ than my husband and can type faster than my 17-year-old. How will this information enrich my life? For starters, I could get a job in a typing pool and make money on the side predicting when co-workers will burst into tears.

But now I have entered a new phase: Kristin's Online Testing 2.0. Meaning a) I paid money to take an online test; b) someone is going to use my data for their own professional gain; and c) I "learned" something I already sorta-kinda knew. Now that's progress!

I'm talking about Dognition.com. Dognition is a very cool, user-friendly website that will tell you if your dog is smarter than my honor student. O.K., it will cost you $19 to find out, but what is $19 compared with your incalculable love for and confidence in your furry best friend? And who doesn't want to drop everything and think about dogs? That's why I follow @EmergencyPuppy on Twitter and you probably do too.

THE SMARTIES BEHIND DOGNITION.COM recently published a paper in *PLOS One* that trumpeted the value of "citizen science"—meaning they ask a bunch of people (and in this case, dogs) to send them data and then use it to, oh, I don't know what, as I've just been hoodwinked by it for the very first time. The whole concept is new to me. In fact, *citizen science* is such a new phrase that it didn't even enter the *Oxford English Dictionary* until last year (at the same time as *upcycling* and *branzino*).

But let's talk about my dog! First of all, Iggy is a Lab, which means he is sweet and popular and will eat anything, including twigs and rocks, a detail that luckily did not come up when I had to fill out his profile on the site. (Note to Dr. Gilbert, D.V.M.: We are using the cage muzzle as instructed, even if it makes Iggy look like Hannibal Lecter.) Aside from the whole making-me-pay-them-to-use-my-data thing, the point of Dognition.com seems to be twofold: find out how smart your dog is and discover which of nine personality types he embodies. To achieve these goals you must do 20 tests, which feel like 120 and involve more dog treats than you can count. You need two people to do the tests, and I recommend they be two people your dog actually respects. (Note to Dognition.com: You may want to add a disclaimer about the participation of teenage boys who feed the dog toast crust under the table. Not a lot of treat-withholding authority, as it turns out.)

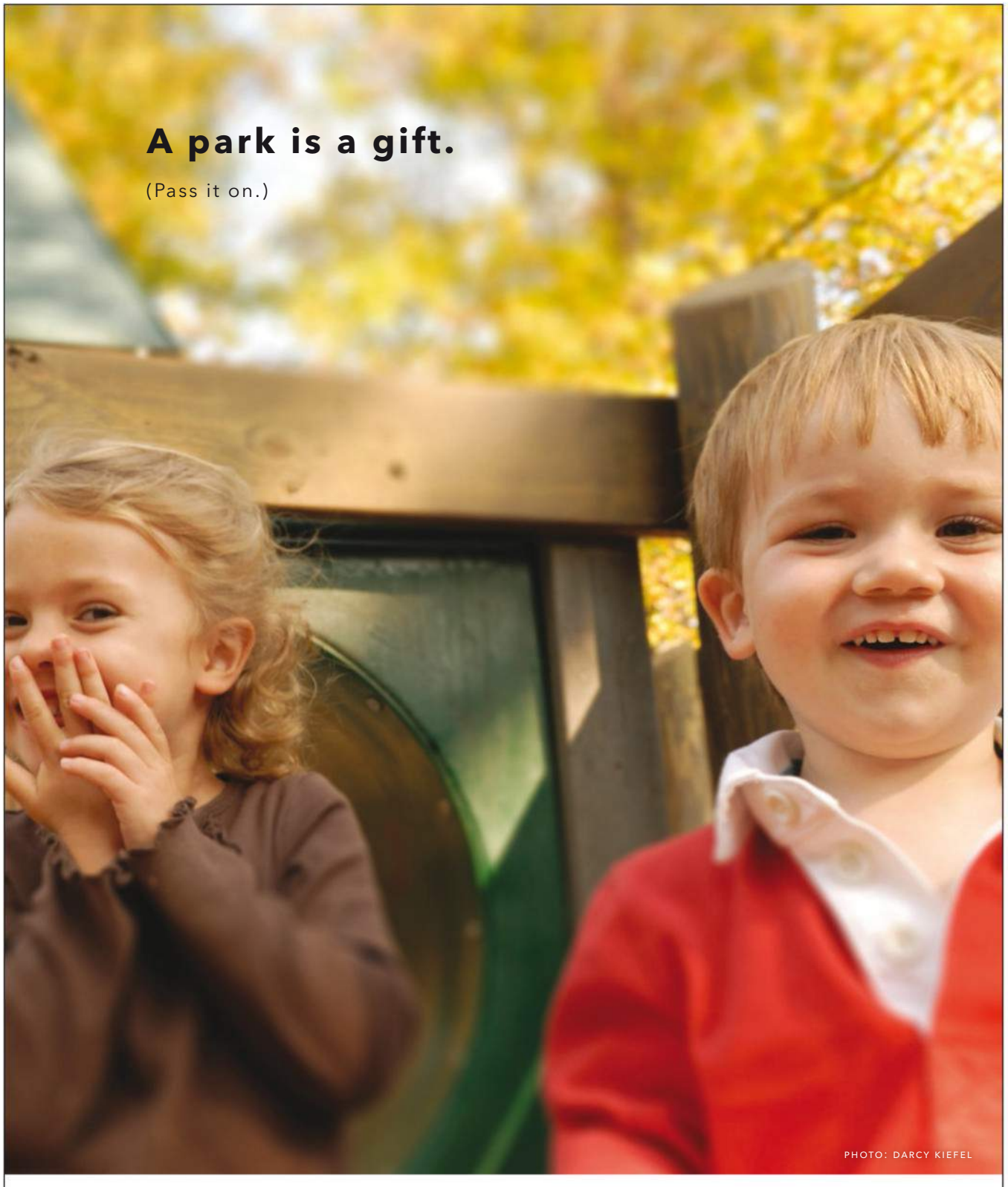
THE TESTS WERE FUN for the whole family, and I say that without a trace of sarcasm, so the $19 plus feeling I was being taken advantage of were totally worth it. We learned that Iggy is highly collaborative, his empathy scores are off the charts, and when he stares at us for no reason, he may just be "hugging [us] with his eyes." He overindexes on memory, but his scores on cunning are, well, too embarrassing to go into here.

Most important, Iggy is a "socialite." In other words, a friend to all who uses you and other humans in his pack to get what he wants. Which is extremely good to know, as I just got an email from Natural Balance pet food claiming that people love dogs who are just like them. O.K., maybe that is not citizen science, or even science at all, but …

Here's what I'm going to do. If Iggy is a socialite, then the owner who loves him is also a socialite, meaning I can hug people with my eyes and make money doing it. I am launching a new business: Kristnition .com. Pay me $19 and upload a closeup photo of your face and I will tell you if you feel sad. Pay me another $5 and I'll predict whether you're about to cry. Who's in?

Van Ogtrop is the editor of Real Simple

ILLUSTRATION BY LUCI GUTTIÉREZ FOR TIME



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Shonda Rhimes The president of Thursday night—*Grey's Anatomy, Scandal, How to Get Away With Murder*—doesn't believe in glass ceilings

Your new book, *Year of Yes*, details how you overcame introversion. Yet you've publicly spoken—and written—about stuff that's pretty personal. How do those traits coexist? I guess that the act of opening one's mouth at all is the hard part. But if you're going to open your mouth you should say something that's real.

You write a lot about the character Cristina Yang on *Grey's Anatomy*. Is it because of all your characters, she was most like you? These days I'm probably more like [*Scandal*'s] Olivia [Pope] than I am like Cristina. But there was a moment when Cristina was very much a reflection of who I was.

You describe yourself as scarily, psychotically competitive. Is that what you need to be to succeed? I don't think that my job requires me to be competitive at all. I'm in my office by myself or I'm in my writers' room with my people. I've chosen a job in which there's no competition allowed. It's probably best for everyone.

You devote a chapter to your nanny, and you thank the five other members of your household staff. Why are working women ashamed to acknowledge that they have help? People don't want to acknowledge it. The people who work in my home were there at different times during the writing of the book. It's because you feel like—isn't that funny? I literally just did it! I just said, "I don't have five people . . ." Nobody wants to admit they have help. We've been conditioned to believe it's wrong. I've decided that more important than me cooking brilliantly, is spending time with my children.

You have said that you did not break any glass ceilings. How can that be true? I did not feel like I had come up against obstacles. One, because my parents raised me to believe that there weren't any. If you believe that there are obstacles, that's why there are obstacles. And two, because I came along at exactly the right time in history. There were already women running shows. There were already people of color who had shows. That glass ceiling had been cracked just enough so that when I hit it, it shattered.

So when women or people of color talk about obstacles in Hollywood, are they not there? I'm pretty oblivious. That obliviousness makes it possible for me to move forward despite what anybody else is thinking. That doesn't mean that obstacles don't exist for other people. It's just that I've decided that they don't exist.

You're a political junkie. What's interesting you at the moment? The turmoil inside the Republican Party. It's one of the reasons why the President in *Scandal* is a Republican.

> 'If you believe that there are obstacles, that's why there are obstacles.'

Tell me about what you call the Airplane Seat Belt Incident of 2014. Getting on a plane and discovering that your seat belt won't fit around you was a moment of extreme horror. It was very hard to ignore.

Was there any secret to losing 117 pounds? Accepting that losing weight was always going to suck: I was always going to be hungry. I was always going to want to eat the fried chicken. We work so hard in all areas of life to succeed, I don't understand why we think this should be easy.

Pretty much all your dreams have come true. What does it feel like? It feels like nothing. Life is still exactly the same. But it does allow you to take a moment and say, "Who do I want to be? And am I the person I thought I was going to be?" —BELINDA LUSCOMBE

JASON LAVERIS—GETTY IMAGES

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